

THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

JULY 1926

JOHN WESLEY AND JOHN HENRY NEWMAN¹

THE fine historic sense and the generous hospitality of the Rector and Fellows of Lincoln College have enabled us to meet here to-day that we may commemorate one of the greatest of Oxford men, one of the greatest of Englishmen, and one of the greatest of Christians—John Wesley. In looking back upon the past two centuries it is impossible to forget that the University of Oxford, during their course, has received, has trained, and sent forth two men of supreme spiritual genius : John Wesley, whose life spanned the eighteenth century (1703–91), and John Henry Newman, whose life spanned the nineteenth (1800–90). Both of them came to personify and to lead great movements of religious life which have profoundly influenced the whole English-speaking world and are active at the present day. If I venture to compare and to contrast these two great men, it is partly because I venerate them both, and partly because their spiritual significance is still unexhausted.

Let us begin with the resemblances between Wesley and Newman. For both God was the supreme and ever-present Reality ; the pursuit of God the sole object of life. Each, therefore, rendered an imperishable service to his age by bringing home this truth through the commanding influence

¹ An address (slightly amplified for publication) delivered in the Wesley Memorial Church, Oxford, on Sunday, March 28, 1926, in connexion with the Commemoration of the Bicentenary of John Wesley's admission to his Fellowship of Lincoln College.

2 JOHN WESLEY AND JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

of an outstanding, a challenging, and even haunting personality. Both were men of uncompromising courage and sincerity ; first of all in the pursuit of their supreme quest, and then in accepting and acting out to the full its personal consequences both in thought and deed. Their courage and sincerity were attended by searching insight, which made full use of an unsparing logic in order to exhibit and press home, upon themselves and upon others, all the implications of their faith. These superb qualities were served, in each case, by a style, both of speech and writing, that is unsurpassed for lucidity and forthright effectiveness. At the same time both united with the rigour of their logic true poetic feeling and considerable poetic power—a rare combination ! Both were Oxford men to their finger-tips. The breadth of their intellectual interests and the wide range of their reading left scarcely any human concern untouched, and enabled them to bring rich stores of observation and information to the illustration of their dominant theme.

Nor do the resemblances between Wesley and Newman end with their natural and acquired endowments. There is much that is alike in their attitude towards their times. Both men were profoundly dissatisfied with the spiritual conditions of the Christian Church and of the people; dissatisfied also with the generally accepted standards and outlook of their age. Both felt a divine compulsion to assume a masterful independence of attitude toward their immediate surroundings and the influences that prevailed. Yet both were constrained to buttress this independence by appealing—in Wesley's case robustly; in Newman's subtilly—to the more primitive and authoritative standards of the past. Each joined a Movement that had already been initiated, and each came so to dominate it and personify it that John Wesley became the commanding genius and embodiment of the Evangelical, and John Henry Newman of the Catholic, revival.

Both Wesley and Newman were at one in their starting-point and their common endeavour. Each sought to gain the assurance of being right with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Their presuppositions were fundamentally Christian, Catholic, and Evangelical. Hence they had much in common both in their beliefs and in their general religious experience. Religion is at once both extraordinarily simple and extraordinarily complex : simple because it has its roots in inmost personality ; complex because it seeks to bring into unity the untold wealth and the diverse elements of thought and feeling, of will and aspiration. It stands for the inmost and complete reaction of human personality upon Reality as Reality impresses itself upon the spiritual powers through vital experience. Differences in religion take their rise from the varieties of emphasis that are laid upon the component elements of spiritual experience by the differing individualities of men. Such varieties of emphasis lead to the selection of differing factors of spiritual experience as determinants of the whole. When such emphasis has been laid and such selection has been made the application of systematic thoroughness and unswerving logic to religious experience may lead men far apart from one another, even though their starting-point and their goal may be the same. And this without either invalidating the witness of the spiritual consciousness as a whole or justifying despair of ultimately reaching agreement in the Truth, which is so all-embracing as to shelter within itself wide differences of emotional and intellectual idiosyncrasies.

1. So it was with Wesley and Newman. Both sought to gain assured acceptance with God through Faith. Yet their emphasis in regard to faith was profoundly different. For Newman, faith was, above all, assent that Christianity—as a system of thought and life founded upon historic facts—is true and a corresponding willingness to act upon this assent. So predominant for him was this element of assent that when, in later life, he gathered up and

4 JOHN WESLEY AND JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

expounded the grounds of his belief he called his book *The Grammar of Assent*. At this point his difficulty arose. In every realm of life assent is given to all manner of propositions of which the evidence is incomplete or not absolutely decisive. The proof falls short of or differs from that of mathematical certainty. In this connexion Newman was never tired of quoting Bishop Butler's aphorism, 'Probability is the guide of life.' Yet, as Newman saw and felt, assent even in respect to imperfectly demonstrated propositions may amount to certitude, even to certitude as a fixed and unshakable attitude of mind. This is, above all, true in the case of the Christian religion. The arguments for its truth fall short of complete demonstration, and appeal with different degrees of force to different minds. In the case of children and of simple people, the question of proof may not arise at all. Yet they may believe with the sense of a complete certitude, with the readiness to venture all upon the truth of their belief. They are enabled to do this because faith is fashioned and confirmed, not only by intellectual considerations, but by moral and emotional factors, by hopes and fears and existing opinions which are personal to the believer and are neither uniform nor universal in their influence. Newman came to explain this conversion of the sense of probability into certitude as due to the operation of what he termed 'the Illative Sense.' Thus Newman's conception of faith compelled him to pursue an anxious and laborious investigation, partly psychological and partly philosophical, into its nature, its elements, and its activity. At the end he left it in such a state of relativity to the individual that he was driven, as we shall see shortly, to confirm its deliverances and to make them universal by bringing an external authority to their aid. Wesley, on the other hand, passed with the ease of robust common sense across this realm of intricacies. For him, faith became, ever after the eventful evening in Aldersgate Street, simply the trustful self-committal of the whole

personality to the personal approach of God in Christ Jesus, an approach which brought ample evidence of its reality by the witness of the Spirit and the transforming consequences that followed it.

2. In the next place, Newman, on the whole, distrusted and, on occasion, decried Reason in the concerns of Religion. So much was this the case that, to his great surprise and petulant indignation, the late Principal of Mansfield College, Dr. A. M. Fairbairn, published articles in *The Contemporary Review* and delivered lectures in Oxford on 'The Scepticism of Dr. John Henry Newman.' Newman's irritation is explained by the fact—at that time not generally known—that such a charge played into the hands of his Ultramontane opponents, Manning and Ward. Both the charge and Newman's surprise that it was brought against him are easily accounted for by the fluctuations and ambiguities of Newman's treatment of Reason. To begin with, he was constrained to represent the Catholic Faith as being, not indeed contrary to, but above Reason. Then, as has been seen, he excluded from the sphere of Reason certain spiritual affections and moral deliverances which are included in the activity of faith. Again, in certain moods Newman was so acutely conscious of the intellectual difficulties, not only of Christianity, but even of Theism, that he doubted the capacity of Reason, as he conceived it, to decide the issue. Nor was this all. He believed that human reason was so infected by the poison of sin that it had become restless, unruly, and disruptive. And, finally, Newman fell into great looseness in his use of the term. In editing his *University Sermons* for republication in later years he declared, 'By Reason is properly understood any process or art of the mind by which, from knowing one thing, it advances to know another,' and also that 'by Reason, relatively to Religion, is meant, first, expertness in logical argument.' This, however, is not Reason in the true sense, or even in the sense in which Newman himself

6 JOHN WESLEY AND JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

sometimes used the term. It is simply the reasoning of the understanding—a very different and much inferior thing.

Wesley, on the other hand, made bold appeal to Reason in support of Faith. One of his early publications in explanation and defence of Methodism was entitled *An Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*. He roundly declared : ‘It is a fundamental principle with us that to renounce Reason is to renounce Religion: that Religion and Reason go hand in hand, and that all irrational religion is false religion.’ In so saying, he not only called for the activity of Reason in the judgement and formulation of Religion, but implied that Faith must carry Reason along with it even in its highest exercise and venture. For Wesley, however, Reason meant the apprehension of wholeness, of consistency, and coherence throughout the entire domain both of Reality and of the Faith that responds to it. Above all, he meant the satisfying sense of proportion, of the pre-eminence of the highest spiritual Values, and the subservience of the Universe itself to these Values, as the instrument of their manifestation, vindication, and fulfilment. And this is the proper meaning of Reason, alike in its every-day activity and in its highest exercise of philosophical thought.

3. In regard to personal Salvation, full assurance was, for Newman, the goal, to be reached only at the end of the long discipline of life. Justification was a process, the nature of which he explained in his *Lectures on Justification*. For Wesley, full assurance became the starting-point. Its trustworthiness was guaranteed by ‘the Spirit of adoption,’ crying ‘Abba, Father.’ The gift was in keeping with the fatherly grace that bestowed it, and was essential to the ‘peace through believing’ which fosters the work of salvation in human hearts throughout its entire process. The gift was indeed to be preserved and cherished by the unceasing and whole-hearted pursuit of holiness, but of its

veracity there could be no doubt, since it was confirmed by the consistent witness of the Spirit of Christ with the spirit of the believer.

It followed from Newman's view of the process of Salvation that his attitude towards God was that of fear and trembling hope. In his account of his withdrawal to Littlemore, given in his *Apologia*, he repudiates any feeling of fear of his human opponents, but applies to himself the words which Virgil puts into the mouth of his hero :

Di me terrent et Jupiter hostis.

And, despite the peace that followed upon his reception into the Roman Church, the note of mental and spiritual anxiety never leaves him, and makes its presence manifest throughout all the ponderings and investigations of his later life. Wesley, on the other hand, was so filled, from the time when his heart 'was strangely warmed' in Aldersgate Street, with the spirit of trust and confident hope in God that his buoyant cheerfulness never failed him, and that mirthfulness of his spirit sometimes brought upon him the rebukes of those who did not understand its secret.

4. We have seen that Newman felt himself constrained to attribute the certitude of his faith, not to the cogency of the evidence upon which he relied, but to the addition of certain personal factors, drawn from the non-intellectual regions of his consciousness. How, then, were the deliverances of Faith to be rescued from subjectivity, from divergencies, and from the caprices of self-will ? What was the body of Christian Truth to which Faith was called to assent, and where was the Authority which could guarantee and formulate this body of Truth, developing, without error, its presuppositions and implications ? In answer to the first question, Newman turned to the so-called Canon of Vincent of Lérins : '*Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est.*' ('What always, what everywhere, what by all has been believed.') This was the mark of

8 JOHN WESLEY AND JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

Catholic truth. Yet this discovery raised more difficulties than it solved. The history of the Christian Church showed that striking developments had taken place both in its theological doctrines and in its ecclesiastical practices. Hence the meditations of Littlemore led Newman to the conclusion that 'An infallible developing Authority was to be expected,' and this thesis he expounded in the book on *The Development of Christian Doctrine*, the working out of which led him to seek admission to the Church of Rome. Here another tag came to his assistance, '*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*', and the historic precedent of the dealing of the Catholic Church with the Donatist schism filled his imagination. What Authority could there be that could claim to represent the whole world, could make the Vincentian Rule a trustworthy guide, and could draw out all the consequences of the faith, without liability to error? To all this Newman could only answer 'Rome!'

Finally, Newman lived in the time of Romanticism. Under its influence he came to idealize the early prime of the Christian Church, and set himself to restore it. The sublime heroism and the inspired certitude of the early Christian martyrs so attracted and held him that he saw the whole history of the Church radiant in the splendour of their unearthly courage and self-sacrifices. Hence imagination completed the work that reasoning had begun.

With Wesley all this was different. He relied upon the inner witness of the believing heart; a witness that was informed and fashioned, but not dominated, by the past. The Scriptures, and particularly the New Testament, the teaching of the Church in so far as the Scriptures confirmed it, the traditions of the past—all these supplied the basis and material of a spiritual venture which, while it absorbed them, transcended them in the originality of a personal act of faith. As the source, the guarantee, and the inspirer of this faith, Wesley relied upon immediate contact with the Living Spirit of Christ, whose Authority alone is final

and satisfying, and who remoulds and vitalizes the past by His continuous influence and action upon prophetic individuals. Hence, while Newman sought an external authority and strove to restore the past, Wesley yielded himself up to be the instrument in the hand of God, for creating a more ideal future, in which the mind of Christ should be more fully expressed and His saving purpose more completely fulfilled. If external Authority sought to check him in this supreme endeavour, he felt constrained reluctantly but resolutely to break with such Authority as an act of costly obedience to God, and in dependence upon the Living Spirit energizing to meet the demands of the existing situation.

As the result of these differences, the contrast between the life-history of the two men became most striking. Newman was driven apart and inwards. Having severed himself from his old Communion, he found himself persistently thwarted and distrusted in the new. His emphasis on the non-rational elements of faith eventually made his teachings influential with Modernists, whose dogmatic conclusions—or the absence of them—would have been abhorrent to him. He became a recluse, brooding over the problems of his heart and mind, and filled with the bitterness of a loneliness which was only relieved at the end when Leo XIII made him a Cardinal of the Church. He remained to the last a pathetic, though a fascinating, figure, and left an inscription for his tombstone which is indeed rather Platonic than Christian :

Ex umbris et imaginibus in Veritatem.

John Wesley, on the other hand, was set free and driven outwards as the foremost apostle and evangelist of modern times, moving to the music of his brother's greatest hymn :

The morning breaks, the shadows flee,
Pure, universal Love Thou art.

10 JOHN WESLEY AND JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

Through his experience and preaching, above all, the conception of God as Sovereign Will, demanding submission from His creatures, was transformed into the vision of Sovereign Love, 'Who willeth that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the Truth.'

Can a synthesis be found between the two contrasted points of view represented by Wesley and Newman? Some say that this is impossible, and that the Religion of the Spirit and the Religion of Authority must for ever confront one another in unreconciled antagonism. The chasm between the two is indeed too wide to be bridged by logic. Yet if, as we have seen, the oppositions take their rise in differences of emphasis and selection out of the vast realm of spiritual experience, may there not come a time when the birth of a new and more comprehensive spirit, informed by fuller knowledge and with a wider outlook, may transcend the contrasts of the past and, on a higher plane, may harmonize them both in a larger apprehension and interpretation of Christ?

J. SCOTT LIDDETT.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—OR WHAT?

THE conception of such a Covenant as that into which we hope the League of Nations will finally evolve is not, as some suppose, new. That conception had its birthplace, not in Washington, nor at Versailles, but at Bethlehem. It came into being, if not into conscious and visible being, with the birth of our Lord. But just as the lovely winged creature which, to the Greeks, was the symbol of immortality, must lie folded in the chrysalis till the appointed time for it to break its bonds, and come forth winged and glorious in the sight of all, so (one believes) that idea has lain folded in the thoughts of God. That sooner or later it should make its appearance among us was inevitable, for it is the logical as well as the spiritual outcome of the law of Christ, the gospel of peace on earth, goodwill to men. It is but the proclamation to the nations of Christ's commandment to the individual : ' As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise.' It is but the extension to national scale of His precept : 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'

Not only in the thoughts of God, but in the thoughts of man also—for as a dewdrop reflects the light of the sun so the thoughts of men reflect, microscopically, some glint of the thoughts of God—has that conception, even if in no more than the chrysalis state, for long lain. Stirrings there were within the chrysalis, as if the creature it enfolded were hoping soon to spread the wings of which it was becoming conscious. In the sixteenth century the Duc de Sully formulated a scheme for the comity of the nations. In his *Memoirs* is a proposal for the grouping of the different European nations (omitting Turkey and Russia) into some such union as that of the United States of America, and he, too, suggested an international assembly to which to refer disputes. To Germany, let us remember, we owe

12 THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—OR WHAT?

Immanuel Kant's conception of a Congress of the Nations; and James Lorrimer, a Scot, sought to bring all nations within one international law; as did the Swiss, Johann Kaspar Bluntschli; and even more definitely did the Dutchman, Van Groot, commonly called Grotius.

But the time was not ripe. Only to-day has the conception taken definite shape, has the imago at last emerged from the pupa state. Even so, as all who have watched an imago emerge from the pupa know, that which comes forth is no perfect creature. It comes into the light of day with cramped, dwarfed, undeveloped wings. As yet it can only crawl; it cannot soar. Time must pass; a place in the sun must be given it where, sheltered from enemies (for no sooner has it emerged than beak and claw are waiting to assail it), the new-born creature may spread, flutter, and dry slow-developing wings in the free play of wind and sun.

Fanciful and far-fetched though my simile be, it is not altogether without bearing on the League of Nations as it is to-day. There are enemies who by beak and claw would destroy the new-born Covenant. There are those who give it lip-service, but are so lukewarm in friendship that they would not trouble themselves to move hand or foot to better its place in the sun, that it may the sooner come to full stretch of wing. There are those who pass judgement upon it while yet it has done no more than emerge from the chrysalis state, and who assert that the yet undeveloped imago is a wingless and abortive thing. Lastly, I am told that there are, in this and other countries, level-headed and well-meaning persons whose attitude is that of actual hostility. That position I fail to understand. What they think to be level-headedness may go with it, but not well-meaningness, for even if to say so seem uncharitable, to be hostile to such an ideal as the Covenant seems to me to be hostile to the welfare of humanity.

If, then, while the League is still in the shaping, I venture

some comments and criticisms, I do so only in the League's best interests. First I go back to the time preceding the war. That the advance of civilization, and the coming-about of a better understanding between the nations, had brought an ending to the night of war, and the dawning of the day of universal peace, many then believed. Some pinned their faith to arbitration, and thought that, by the submission of all disputes between nations to the Palace of Peace at the Hague, war would be ended for ever. Those who held, the one school that only by being prepared, the other that only by being unprepared, for war, could war be averted, had equal cause to be cast down in the late summer of 1914. Then there was Mr. Norman Angell, who assured us that we had seen the end of war, if only because the nations were now wise enough to realize that war did not 'pay.' Mr. Angell was right in his second prediction, nor was any gift of prophecy needed so to predict; but he was hopelessly wrong in his first, for to war the nations went. And even the catastrophe to civilization which followed upon the summer of 1914 has not left the nations so wise as Mr. Angell hoped. Rumblings of the threatened return of the chariot of the war-god have been heard on the horizon, even since 1918.

Yet in war something of the devilish there has always been on the part of one at least of the belligerents, since the time when, as we read in Rev. xii. 7, 'There was war in heaven.' Here may I venture to quote published words of my own :

Surely 'twas Hell, not Heaven, where first was war!
Where first infernal passions woke and stirred—
War, which makes Heaven impossible in a word
By bidding Murder's bloody gate unbar.

As well might one, under the Juggernaut Car,
And knowing all annihilate shall be,
Babble of life and immortality,
As call that Heaven where hell and hatred are!

14 THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—OR WHAT?

Yet there was war in Heaven, as on this star.
Yea, even there was war's red flag unfurled,
As if High God would warn a craven world
In Heaven itself, worse can befall than war.

Asked what is that ‘worse,’ I reply by quoting the late President Roosevelt, to whom the Nobel Prize was awarded. In addressing Congress, he said : ‘Peace is normally a great good, and normally it coincides with righteousness, but it is righteousness, and not peace, which should bind the conscience of a nation, as it should bind the conscience of an individual ; and neither a nation nor an individual can surrender conscience to another’s keeping. Nothing would more promote iniquity, nothing would further defer the reign upon earth of peace and righteousness, than for the free and enlightened peoples which, with much stumbling and many shortcomings, nevertheless strive towards justice, deliberately to render themselves powerless, while leaving every despotism and barbarism armed, and capable to work their wicked will.’

That was said in 1906, and it was surely to prevent militarist despotism from working its will that, in August 1914 :

Staggered and stunned, our England backward reeled
A moment. Then, magnificent, erect,
She drew the sword, the helpless to protect,
And over prostrate Belgium cast her shield.

That there may never be again cause for any nation to draw the sword is the colossal task of the League of Nations, the aim of which must, necessarily, be not only to maintain peace between, but to Christianize, the nations. When the majority at least—to say ‘when every one’ is to be too hopeful—of the citizens of all civilized countries are humble followers of Christ, and so long as they so remain, the nightmare of war will be gone for ever. When that time comes, if ever, there will be no need for a League of Nations.

Till then, if suspicion, jealousy, or intrigue, national or personal, be allowed to reduce to a disunity of bickering factions what should be the unity and solidarity of a Covenant upon which depends the common welfare of every community and every nation, we shall be reverting to the days of the robber-barons, if not of the caveman and of Cain. Cain killed his brother because he was jealous, and was the more powerful animal. The caveman slew his fellow caveman because he also was the more powerful animal, and because he wished to possess himself of his fellow caveman's hunting-ground, or possibly of his fellow caveman's wife. The robber-baron who had more retainers than had his neighbour, marshalled his men against his neighbour, slew him and his retainers, and possessed himself of that neighbour's home, lands, and belongings; and possibly treated his neighbour's womenfolk and the womenfolk of the retainers, as booty for himself and his men, and for the vilest of purposes. Uncivilized as our far-back forbears were, even they saw that brute force of that sort could not be allowed indefinitely to prevail. As time went on, the community, for its own protection, 'pooled' all its resources for the prevention, if need be the punishment, of robbery, rape, and murder; and so, little by little, was evolved the system which to-day is represented by our courts for the administration of law and order. That the nations should for so long have allowed something resembling the conditions prevailing in the days of Cain, the cavemen, and the robber-barons to prevail internationally; that all civilized, to say nothing of all Christian, nations should not long since similarly have 'pooled' their resources for the prevention of international crime, just as the different peoples of each civilized nation long since 'pooled' their resources for the prevention of crime against the community or the individual; and that the world should have to wait till nearly two thousand years after the birth of the Saviour to see a League of Nations

16 THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—OR WHAT ?

established, is surely a disgrace to so-called civilization. That disgrace the League sets out to remove, and should not altogether fail in removing, if only for the following reasons.

To those of us who hold the Christian faith, that faith is manifestly divine of origin. It came into the world eternal from birth. Some of us can even believe that, were every record of Christianity lost—were the very memory of Christ withdrawn from the mind of man—even then the soul which is in man would, under God, re-create exactly such a faith, and around the same and no other central Figure.

Shall I be thought irreverent if I say also of the Covenant that, once having come into being, we cannot believe that an ideal so manifestly divine of origin can remain entirely unrealized? That it can entirely fail and pass away is unthinkable; but, even were that which is so unthinkable to happen, another generation, perhaps the next, would re-create the conception of such a Covenant, and carry it on a step farther to practicability, until, little by little, a Covenant as nearly approaching our ideal as is humanly possible was attained. Even if, of Christ's Church on earth—by which is meant, not any one Church, but the whole body of believers who, according to their lights, accept Him as their Lord and Saviour, and strive their best to follow in His footsteps—we cannot claim that it is without imperfections, still less can we expect to see come into being a Covenant perfect beyond all criticism from its birth. There are those who assert that the Covenant is no more than a beautiful but impracticable, and so perishable, dream. That was said of Christianity when first proclaimed by its Founder and His followers, yet for nearly two thousand years Christianity has endured, and will, we believe, for all time endure. They would have said something of the sort about the efforts which were made to remedy the state of things existing in the days of the robber-barons and the cavemen—in which case, had what they

said been heeded, the conditions which prevailed then would still prevail. The constitution under which we live, our system for the prevention of acts of violence against the individual or the community, and the administration of law and order, were once no more than beautiful ideals which, after many stumblings and errors—for it is not so very many years ago since men were hanged for sheep-stealing—slowly but surely took shape, and evolved into what they now are. That even now they are perfect or infallible no one claims, for in this world (perhaps even in the next, for, even there, progress onward, upward, Godward, is, surely, infinite) the ideal will ever remain the unattainable. But as from shapeless clay the sculptor labours unremittingly to express, as nearly as is within his power, the lovely and ideal form which he has in mind, so from the materials at our command we seek to mould and fashion a Covenant as nearly approximating as we can make it to the ideal of such Covenant as we believe has, since humanity came into being, existed in the mind of God.

In a sternly-practical world, if it is to accomplish what it seeks to accomplish, the League must be, practical in a sense, but it must not for that reason *come to a compromise with its own ideals*. The present state of things is a compromise, and one which cannot for long continue. Our ideal Covenant will one day include all nations, but till then no nation sincerely anxious to come in should be excluded, so long, of course, as it have no sinister motive. Germany must be the first. When Russia—for whom, as the outcast and orphan child of Europe, one entertains only the intensest pity—has shaken off the bonds with which she is bound by enemies within her own borders, she will not long remain outside. The sympathies of the great American people are, we believe, in the main, with the League, as they were, in the main, with the Allies at the beginning of the war. But—officially, at least—

18 THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—OR WHAT?

America for the present stands aloof, as she did for some time in the war, and again, as in the war, she may not for long be willing to stand aloof. Officially, the very business-like and non-impulsive American people refuse to be hurried. Their attitude to the League is that, as yet, it is more or less (they would say mostly) a European family gathering for the amicable discussion of common interests, and for the equally amicable surmounting of difficulties and differences that stand in the way of peace. But even families have been known to fall out, and in European family quarrels America declines to be involved. Except for this country, to whom she is, as it were, a cousin who now lives a very long way off, she is not related by blood to the family in question. But we remember, and to her enduring honour, that it was from America that the demand for a League of Nations came; that it was an American President who summoned the first assembly. When America responds to the bugle-call for universal peace which she first sounded, she will come into the Covenant fresh and untired; and when the energies of older member-nations may be flagging, America's present attitude may, under God, be for the League's best welfare. It may mean, as in the war, the accession of new strength, and at the very moment when new strength is most needed. America may yet prove the star of greatest magnitude in the constellation of the Covenant.

Till then, bickering and manœuvring concerning which Power shall, or shall not, have a seat, and whether that seat shall, or shall not, be permanent, may, under present conditions, be a deplorable necessity, but it is opposed to the principles for which the Covenant stands. Only on the assumption that, in the opinion of those loyal friends of the League who are best informed on all points, such a state of things is, provisionally, necessary, can it be even tolerated. The Covenant we have in mind must be catholic—it must not become a clique. So long as there is, on the

part of the covenanting nations, anything like the playing off of one nation against another—suggesting, as it does, the packing of a jury, and the old disastrous and exploded ‘Balance of Power’—there will be distrust. Distrust there will be none under a world-league, or world-court, of all the nations, for one has enough faith in humanity to believe that the majority of our fellow mortals, in every country, are sufficiently ‘on the side of the angels’ to wish that right, not wrong, be done. Were not the average of those in every community who wish to live decently and at peace with their neighbours higher than the average of those who have no regard for the decencies or for personal rights, law and order would cease to be maintained, and social and national anarchy would prevail. Under a world-league of nations there would be a supremely preponderating Balance of Power, the only thinkable Balance of Power—that of the combined power of all the nations, and on the side of peace, justice, and righteousness. For that reason the people are profoundly disquieted by what happened at Geneva. They have not scrapped the manœuvring to obtain a Balance of Power, to see it replaced by similar manœuvring to obtain a Balance of Votes. The Balance of Votes is decided in the council chamber, but in the last resort it is decided as the Balance of Power is—on the battle-field, which brings us back to the old and accursed régime of the past. Reasons of ‘policy’ there may have been—were, on the part of certain Continental diplomats—for spatchcocking this or that nation, small or great, into the League, and for engineering this or that nation out; but with ‘policies’ the people wish the League to have nothing to do. They do not look to the League for policies, nor even for a ‘policy,’ but for *principles*—the maintenance of the principles of justice and righteousness, only by which can peace and goodwill be assured.

Peace and goodwill will not be assured, justice and righteousness will not be done, while a comparatively

20 THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—OR WHAT?

unimportant South American State can play fast and loose, can be allowed to ‘monkey’ (there is no other word for it) with the peace of Europe and the world by even the temporary blackballing of such a Power as Germany; and so, by its single vote, can stultify what all the Powers within the League have, in council assembled, decided is for the best interests of all.

I said as much to someone known to me, who replied: ‘That is not for outsiders like you and me, who are in the dark about the diplomatic points involved, to say, or to meddle with.’

My answer was: ‘No citizen of any country within the Covenant is, or should be, an “outsider,” where the cause of the Covenant, and so of peace, is concerned.’

‘Perhaps not,’ he said, ‘but diplomacy we must leave to the diplomatists.’

I am not so sure. One does not think of the League as in the pockets of the diplomatists, no matter how well-meaning or high-minded. If the banner of the League is to go forward to victory, it will be, not by the secracies, shuffles, and shifts of diplomacy, but because it has, standing behind it, and shoulder to shoulder, the people of each covenanting country. The people are for fair-dealing, friendly discussion, and with all the cards on the table. The diplomatic method of having a card up the sleeve has too often proved to be no more than a patch on the garment of peace, which patch, when it gives way, as it sooner or later does, leaves an ugly and angry rent that may be the cause of war.

Ought we (one asks) to leave the matter, as practically we do, entirely in the hands of diplomatists? Ought we not to send to Geneva, not only diplomatists, if we send them at all, but the pick of our wisest, most far-seeing representatives, clerical and lay, of the Christian Churches? Ought we not to send our captains of industry, who, by their grasp of affairs, application, integrity, and initiation, have

built up great businesses which are the means of providing employment for thousands? Ought we not to send, in a word, the very best we have in the country, men and women, great, not only of brain, but also of soul, and drawn, not from one class, as too often happens in diplomacy, but from any class or calling? (In my own calling—I must not speak for others—I instance Mr. John Galsworthy as of the required type.)

In what I have said I may seem to be for alarmingly increasing the number of the representatives. At present each State has three representatives on the Assembly, but only one vote. On the Council each State has only one representative, but the Assembly has power to add to the number of those on the Council. Much may be said against unduly enlarging the number of representatives, but that is not to say that the consideration of some increase is out of the question. In any case, it is the qualifications, not the number, of those sent which I have now in mind. The representatives should be drawn from the people, not only from the politicians. Politicians do not always represent the people—I am not thinking of ‘proportional representation,’ but of the clean sweep which, at more than one recent election, the people have made of this or that party claiming to represent them.

If the person—presuming that only one be sent—be a politician, he should be one in whose mind there is no sinister working of the yeast of suspicion. That any suggested representative distrusts another nation, and is going to Geneva to ‘keep an eye’ upon the ‘moves’ of that nation, that he may counter it with a ‘move’ of his own, should disqualify him in the eyes of his peace-loving and fair-minded fellow countrymen. So should the fact that any suggested representative is known to be ambitious of honour for himself, eager to be in the limelight, and to please the so-called ‘patriotic’ section of the public at home (the section always most in evidence) by seeking to

22 THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—OR WHAT?

score for his country, and incidentally for himself, a diplomatic success over the representatives of another nation. Diplomatic successes have, in the long run, a way of turning into national disasters. The nation which is seeking to serve only its own self-interests—quite another matter from asking that it be accorded the same fairness which is accorded to other nations—is disserving the League, as well as itself. Only by equal fairness to all nations can peace be attained, and war—the greatest disaster which can befall a victorious, scarcely less than a vanquished, nation—be averted. By assuring peace, each nation thus serves its own best interests, for peace will never be assured so long as one nation is seeking to score a diplomatic success—in plain words, ‘to best’ another. That way war may, probably will, sooner or later lie. There never yet was war which, on one side at least, had not its origin in self-seeking, in greed, or aggrandisement. The end of national self-seeking will mean the end of war. Even if self-seeking has ‘paid’ nations in the past (which one doubts, for no material gain could compensate for the moral loss), self-seeking, once the nations are united under the League, will ‘pay’ no more. The nation which has only self-seeking ends in view will lose far more than it gains. Its influence will weaken; it may even come under something like a moral or economic boycott, and it will no longer be in a position to attain its ends by force. That no nation shall attain its end by force is the determination of the League, and when the nations are effectually combined for that purpose, no one nation, nor two nations, will dare to defy such a combination. A wall will have been set up against war, to attempt to break through which will be little short of national suicide.

Anything which assists to strengthen the hands of the League is to be welcomed, which is why I venture now on what may seem a digression, but is really relevant to the subject. Since the reaction against—practically the

rejection of—belief in eternal punishment, has not the pendulum swung too far in the other direction? In the reaction from the idea of eternal punishment, the tendency to-day is to think too lightly of sin—I do not say too greatly to stress God's mercy, but to forget that, though He be Love, and infinite in His mercy, He is none the less Eternal Justice, and so to be 'feared.' Though fear be a low, not a high, denominator in the working out of the sum, the answer to which is the material and spiritual well-being of man, it is a factor which the old Hebrew prophets and our Puritan forbears did not hesitate to use. For our children, and for our dumb animal friends (and in each of us is there not something of the child, as well, alas! as of the animal, to our life's end?), until they learn the higher law of obedience by love, fear still comes within the curriculum by which they learn to refrain from evildoing. And so with humanity in the aggregate. Fear is still a factor to deter nations, as well as the individual, from that which is the cause of human misery. In saying this I have in mind what a great London daily newspaper, Liberal in politics, and a strenuous supporter of the League of Nations, says of a recently-published book: 'We who have endured the Great Tragedy [the war] know that here are not only possibilities, but decided probabilities; it is, in fact, the sort of book that is more powerful than a hundred sermons or No-More-War tracts.'

The book in question is *The War-god Walks Again*, by Captain Britten Austin. If his prediction of war, as war will be should the nations ever again be so insane as to make war, be well founded—and that it is well founded so distinguished a soldier as Major-General Sir Ernest Swinton, D.S.O., the first official 'Eye-Witness' of the Great War, assures us in the Introduction—the prediction is one to strike, not only the 'fear' of which I have spoken, but to strike terror to the hearts even of the unthinking; and it is by the unthinking in each nation that the efforts of the League in the cause of peace are most endangered. Whenever

24 THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS—OR WHAT?

between two nations there is a crisis, which the exercise of mutual forbearance, goodwill, and understanding should remove, it is the unthinking in each nation who make themselves most heard. While other folk wisely and patriotically refrain from any utterance that might embarrass those conducting the negotiations, it is the unthinking who shout, or write (and at the top of their voice) in papers catering for the unthinking, about 'the flag,' or about 'prestige,' and demand that an ultimatum be sent to the nation with which there is a variance of opinion. And because the unthinking shout the loudest, what they say is taken, in the country with which there is a variance, as the considered opinion of the people of the country which, so far from representing, the unthinking only misrepresent. The unthinking, in the country with which there is a misunderstanding, retort, after the manner of the unthinking in like strain; and so bad blood is made between the two nations, and the possibility of war brought perceptibly nearer; perhaps war may even be precipitated.

Even the unthinking—no inconsiderable section of each nation—will find cause for thought, cause even to be appalled, by the contemplation of war as it will be to them and to theirs should the nations ever again make war. For in war, in future, there will be no non-combatants. Young and old, the thinking and the unthinking, will be involved. In the past, the issue was decided by the defeat of the opposing Power in the field and at sea. The Great War saw defeat in the air added as a supreme factor, and saw also the determination to starve the peoples at home by means of submarine, or blockade, put into effect as never before.

These factors remain, but, if war should come again, an opposing Power will instantly, and probably without waiting for any declaration of war, strike at the people of an opposing Power, and in the people's own homes. Men, women, and children will be conscripted, not by their

own Government, but by the enemy, to take part in the war, and will be subjected to carnage on the most awful scale, and by methods which can only be described as hellish. The intellect which God gave us to employ in scientific and chemical research, for the healing of our brothers and sisters in humanity, we have debased by devising monster and devilish engines of war, to blow humanity into fragments ; and by alchemying vast stores of poison gases for the blinding, burning, suffocation, and finally the extermination (as loathsome vermin are exterminated) of men, women, and children.

That is the most terrible perversion of what we call civilization, and of our God-given intellect, in the history of mankind. To allow such a state of things to continue is surely to be deserving of such fire from heaven as was rained down upon the moral perverts of Sodom and Gomorrah.

That is why I am compelled to the conviction that only in some such Covenant as that for which the League of Nations—if as yet only dimly and all imperfectly—stands does any hope lie. Of death a great poet sings : ‘ As a god self-slain on his own strange altar, Death lies dead.’ Whether this world will ever see, and ‘ as a god self-slain on his own strange altar,’ Death lie dead, none of us can aver. But believing as we do that, even out of great evil, God never fails, in His own time, to bring a far yet greater good, our hope is that our children, or our children’s children, may have cause to think even of the horrors and infamies of the Great War as the inevitable agonies of a world in labour, that it might give birth to the only solution of the awful problem presented by the possible recurrence of war.

COULSON KERNAHAN.

THE PROBLEM OF PRAYER

WHENEVER the problem of prayer is discussed, either from the believing or from the unbelieving standpoint, it is generally assumed that the difficulties are scientific and philosophical. Now, in any doctrine of prayer there really are theological difficulties which gather around the thought of the perfect knowledge and the perfect love of God; but the alleged scientific and philosophical difficulties appear to be mere fallacies, and it is a constant surprise that many responsible thinkers should treat them as respectfully as they do. The assumption is always that the modern conception of the universe, which is expressed in phrases like the uniformity of nature, the universality of law, and so forth, makes it impossible to believe in prayer as really effecting anything in the physical universe, though it may possibly have some sort of effect in the psychical region. Some apologists have made a most illogical attempt at compromise along the lines of this saving clause, and have taught that we ought to pray for grace and guidance in our soul's life, since this belongs to the spiritual realm, and that we may even perhaps pray for recovery from illness, since there are psychical factors which co-operate with physical factors in such a case, but that we decidedly must not pray for a change of wind, since this is purely a matter of cause and effect in the natural world.¹ That position has actually been endorsed by no less a man than William James. 'We have heard much talk of late,' he once wrote, 'against prayer, especially against prayers for better weather and for the recovery of sick people. As regards prayers for the

¹ It is significant that seventy-five per cent. of the college students who answered a questionnaire on the subject of prayer 'considered it a mistake to pray for a change in the weather' (Pratt, *The Religious Consciousness*, p. 321).

sick, if any medical fact can be considered to stand firm, it is that in certain environments prayer may contribute to recovery, and should be encouraged as a therapeutic measure. Being a normal factor of moral health in the person, its omission would be deleterious. The case of the weather is different. Notwithstanding the recency of the opposite belief, every one now knows that droughts and storms follow from physical antecedents, and that moral appeals cannot avert them.¹ That is to say, prayer, as a sort of auto-suggestion, has moral results which induce physical results, so that there is some active relation between the moral and the physical, at least within the sphere of human personality. Nevertheless, the universe is sharply divided into two halves, the physical and the moral, which (despite the connexion conceded above) are apparently altogether unrelated. Then the natural half of the universe is assumed to be under the dominion of law—the rigid laws which rule physical antecedents and physical consequences—while the spiritual half of the universe is assumed to be under the dominion of—what? It cannot be that it is ruled by chance, for in that case prayer could not, of course, effect anything whatever. There must be some system, some regular connexion of events, and some regular operation of forces in the spiritual world, or it would be quite impossible to effect any real causation, either by prayer or by anything else whatever. But it is equally impossible, upon the hypothesis we are considering, that the spiritual realm should be thought of as ruled by law, for, if so, the laws will necessarily be as regular and as rigid as natural laws—otherwise they would not be laws at all. And if fixed laws rule the spiritual world, the fixity of law must be precisely as great a difficulty there as in the physical world. If it is law anywhere, surely it is law everywhere. The fact that the universe is governed by law, if it forbids physical results to

¹ *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, pp. 463–4.

follow from prayer, equally forbids spiritual or moral results to follow from it.

The fact is that the whole conception of natural law, as popularly entertained, is beset with fallacies. First of all, there is the most unfortunate use of the same word 'law' to signify (as an eminent statesman recently said) both 'the command of a sovereign authority and the generalization of a Newton or a Darwin.'¹ The first implies a sanction which is always personal in appeal, and generally moral in quality, along with the existence of an active authority which both issues and enforces the command, and which also has personal and moral attributes.² Now, very often the ideas of authority and activity, both of them demoralized and depersonalized, are unconsciously carried over into the concept of natural law, which has no right to any connotation of this kind, since it merely means a regularity of observed sequences, and cannot possibly mean anything else. This is a piece of sheer anthropomorphism on the part of scientific thinkers, such as they are fond of charging upon the theologians. The result is that there is a great deal of illogical thinking which treats natural laws as if they ordained themselves and operated themselves. But a law of any kind, natural or otherwise, must always have that which establishes and effectuates it. When you have generalized all the events in the universe into regular codes of behaviour, you have still to seek a primal, universal, active, and present cause, which originated all things in the first place, and which continues to make them behave in this singularly disciplined way. That being so, the impenitent theist will at once suggest that this ultimate cause must be conceived as intelligent and infinite, and is, indeed, the God of natural theology. But it is utterly uncritical and unphilosophical, in any case, to think of natural laws as if they were sorcerers'

¹ The Earl of Oxford, in an Essex Hall lecture on *Free Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, June 4, 1925.

² Cf. James Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, pp. 589-41.

spells. As an eminent logician has said : 'To speak of natural laws as if the mere formula exerted a magical power over the phenomena and exacted something from them which did not follow of itself from their own nature is an empty rhetorical phrase. Laws can never be the causes of actual occurrences ; they can only express the regular manner in which real things occur.'¹ What we call natural laws are, in fact, generalizations as to the way that things happen in the universe, and nothing more. As to what makes things happen in these regular sequences, or what makes them happen at all, natural laws cannot tell us anything whatever.

Then, too, the description of the laws of nature as fixed laws is singularly delusive. It is redundant, of course, since every law of nature is a fixed law. If a law were unfixed it would not be a law. But the phrase is misleading in several ways. It suggests that a natural law means invariable sequence—that precisely the same effect follows infallibly from precisely the same cause—which is right enough, so long as the law is thought of in the abstract, as existing and operating by itself. But it is often forgotten that in the life of the universe no natural law ever does actually exist or operate alone ; it is always conditioned and often suspended or superseded by the existence and the operation of other laws ; so that, strictly speaking, the same event in the actual life of the universe does not follow from the operation of any one law, but follows from the operation of the same combination of laws—a very important point. Moreover, speaking still more strictly, it never is the same event ; that is, there never are two events in the universe that are precisely similar ; for they must necessarily differ in their position in space and in time, as well as in a thousand details of their wider environment. They may be sufficiently alike in some respect for us to group them under one formula ; for purposes

¹ Sigwart, *Logik*, ii. 2, p. 512.

of classification we may deliberately fix our attention upon some general resemblance, and deliberately ignore the minute differences, and so average events out into regularity. But the fixity of the law (and consequently the uniformity of nature) is not really either absolute or actual ; it is merely a kind of statistical average,¹ an abstract and approximate formula—something that does not actually exist in nature, but which our minds import into our conception of nature, and which we find extraordinarily convenient in use, as a kind of working principle. If we state that the average height of Englishmen is 5 feet 7½ inches, that does not mean that every individual male in England is precisely that height. But it is a useful statement, which compresses into a single formula the almost innumerable differences of height that actually exist. And so a natural law compresses the almost infinite diversity of events into a statement of uniformity, so far as that particular aspect of events is concerned. But it does not mean that there is any absolute fixity or any absolute uniformity in the actual events, for in those actual events there is, as a matter of fact, a practically infinite mutability and multiplicity.

Then, again, the notion of fixity is often unconsciously carried over (by what logicians call the fallacy of composition) from a single natural law to the entire system of natural laws, so that it becomes the thought of a universal fixity of events within the universe ; the conception of fate, in fact. The fixity which we attribute to a solitary natural law, when considered as a pure abstraction in the mind, we proceed to transfer to the entire combination of natural laws when considered as in active operation in the universe. It is as if we should transfer the fixity of the rule as to one particular movement of a pawn in chess to the whole game, and proceed to think that as the one piece in one particular position and at one particular moment can only move in

¹ Cf. James Ward, *Realm of Ends*, p. 78.

one specified direction, so the whole game can only issue in one specified result. That is to ignore the fact that the operation of changing combinations of fixed laws can give an absolutely fluid result. While each piece has a determined value, and can only move in a determined direction when conditioned by the presence and position of other pieces, the whole game involves so many different combinations of value and of direction that it may end in thousands of different ways. So, while all the laws of nature are fixed laws, the possible combinations of those laws are so numberless, and change so constantly, that they produce results of infinite variety. If there be a God, and if He answers prayer, He can order the limitless interactions of natural laws and natural forces, without any exercise of miraculous power, so as to produce whatever result He wills, and, if He wills it, the result for which we pray. If man can re-arrange the interactions of physical laws so as to produce different results (and that is what all human activity amounts to), surely God can do the same, on the infinite scale ? The persistence of this fallacy of fixity is amazing. It is always irritating, but never more so than when found in that species of apologetics that is pathetically eager to prove its candour by conceding in advance everything that the writer imagines science has ever demanded. There is not even the charm of novelty about this piece of muddled thinking, for it is precisely the same fallacy that underlies the dilemma which Pope proposed (and which he borrowed from Wollaston) nearly two hundred years ago :

Think we, like some weak prince, the Eternal Cause
Prone for his favourites to reverse his laws ?
When the loose mountain trembles from on high,
Shall gravitation cease, if you go by ?¹

The implied supposition is that it is irrevocably fixed beforehand both that the rock is to fall on that particular spot at

¹ *Essay on Man*, iv. 121-8.

that particular moment, and that you are to pass that particular spot at that particular moment. Then it is demanded if you expect a miracle to save you, a supernatural suspension of the law of gravitation in your personal interest. There is no need for any intelligent believer in providence to expect any such incredible interference ; he does not believe that any such solution of the problem is necessary, because he does not believe that the problem exists. He does not believe, that is to say, in an unalterable fate which has predetermined every event in the universe, and so he does not believe that there is any absolute necessity that the rock should fall precisely then and there, and that you should be passing precisely then and there. If it be the will of God that you should not encounter that particular danger, there are thousands of ways in which you may escape it, without any miracle at all. A spell of hard frost may delay the fall, or a spell of wet weather may hasten it ; your watch may have gained or lost, so that you pass the spot a few moments before or a few moments after the landslide has happened ; an attack of influenza may prevent you passing the place for days, or a broken leg may prevent you passing it for weeks. There are literally thousands upon thousands of such contingencies which, without ever going beyond the natural, may effectively prevent that particular collocation of circumstances which would result in your being crushed by the fall of rock. The supposed difficulty, like all similar ones, really depends upon the assumption of a fixed fate governing all the events of the universe. The problem is presented as if it turned upon the invariability of natural laws, but it does not ; it turns upon an assumed determinism. If that determinism is a right interpretation of the universe, it certainly makes an end of all belief in providence and prayer, but it must not be forgotten that it also makes an end of many other things as well. For the problem of prayer and providence is, in fact, a part of a larger question, and our attitude toward it depends upon our final philosophy—

upon the view we take of existence as a whole. What is primal and what is ultimate in the universe? What is the interpretation of the whole of things, if, indeed, there is any interpretation at all? Is the sum of existence energized and directed by purpose and intelligence, or is it not? If it is, there can be nothing which makes it impossible for prayer to be heard and to be answered; if it is not, then indeed there is no place for prayer, but there is no place for religion or for morality in any real sense of the words.

It comes to this. When the universal range and rigidity of natural law is granted in the most unreserved way, the ultimate question remains, *How are the infinite combinations of natural laws, changing as they do from moment to moment, determined, and what determines them?*—for those combinations and the consequences which follow from them are strictly innumerable and incalculable. Only three theories as to the cause and the mode seem to be possible—materialism and determinism, or theism and determinism, or theism and freedom. Either all the innumerable permutations of laws are predetermined from the beginning of the universe by the original constitution of matter, or they are predetermined from eternity by a supreme intelligence, or they are determinable and determined from moment to moment, so to speak, by a supreme intelligence.

Now the first hypothesis seems to be strictly incredible when you try to think out the details of it. Every particular combination of laws in the universe is supposed to be determined by the preceding combination, and so backwards to the beginning, so that everything is really predetermined by the innate character of matter in its earliest state. Now, to suppose that the original matter of the universe—the diffused mass of gaseous particles that composed the original nebula from which all the worlds were evolved—fortuitously contained within itself a system of predetermined causation which comprised every single event, mental, moral, and spiritual, as well as physical, that has ever happened, or ever

will happen, is implicitly to endow matter with all the infinite attributes that a theist ever predicated of God. It is to credit matter with a species of omniscience, for example. For if matter be the real and active cause of all the almost infinite knowledge which humanity already possesses, and which is increasing from day to day, it must somehow possess infinite knowledge in itself. Now, to say that unconscious matter is the infinite cause of knowledge is very nearly using words without meaning. Probably all that the words do really mean is that the materialist will not accept a theistic explanation of the universe at any price, and prefers the most obstinate paradoxes about matter instead. But if it could be proved that all existence developed automatically out of primitive matter, the incorrigible theist would promptly claim that such marvellous matter as this must be said to have a soul, and that this soul must be called God. It does not affect the argument if instead of matter we say force, or *élan vital*, or what you please ; whatever the primitive principle of the universe may be, it must contain within itself the secret and the potentiality, at least, of all the illimitable intelligence, and all the moral and spiritual qualities, that are exhibited in the whole life of the universe. The second hypothesis is that of a purely transcendent God, with the addition of a doctrine of predestination—a creed which, if it was ever seriously held, must be quite superannuated by this time of day. Even on this theory, however, there is no insuperable difficulty as to prayer. For if God foreordained all things from eternity, He also foreknew the prayers that would ascend from the hearts of men, and the believer in prayer would say, like Eckhart : ‘God saw all things in His first eternal glance—if indeed we may speak of a first glance. He saw the humblest prayer that would be offered, and saw withal which prayers He would hear. He saw that to-morrow thou wilt cry unto Him and earnestly entreat Him, and not to-morrow will God hear thy prayer, for He heard it in His eternity, before ever thou wast made

man.'¹ The real objection to that view, however, is that it is deism—that it supposes that God made the world and ordained its whole history, and then retired from it, as a watchmaker might make a watch and wind it up, and then leave it to go by itself until it ran down. Such a conception is far from doing justice to the genuinely and characteristically Christian view of the relation of God to the world, which is represented by the third hypothesis—that of an active and immanent deity, in whom we live and move and have our being; who did not merely once create the world, but who sustains, directs, actuates, and vitalizes it from moment to moment. This is modern and rational theism.

When once the theistic position is reached and held, one would think that there would remain no more objections of the kind we have been considering. There seems to be one, however. It is the argument which we have seen used by timid apologists (who are apparently seeking a religious sanction for conceding what they conceive to be the scientific objection to prayer) that it is blasphemous to think of prayer as altering the will of God.² Now, it is doubtless blasphemous to think of prayer, or anything else, altering the will of God in the universal and ultimate sense. But what does the will of God mean, in that sense, except a general and final purpose of good? To think of the will of God as meaning that every separate event in the universe is rigidly ordained is, of course, an absolute denial of all human freedom, and consequently of the very meaning of morality. It is fundamental to all religion and all morality to believe that man should be able, within limits, to do a thing or not to do it, to do the good deed that is in accordance with the will of God or to do the evil deed that is the sheer denial and defiance of the will of God—to fulfil or frustrate

¹ Pfeiffer, *Meister Eckhart*, p. 487.

² A. L. Lilley, *Prayer in Christian Theology*, p. 7.

the will of God, in the apostle's phrase. It is equally fundamental to believe that in the long run and in the last resort the will of God must prevail over the defiance of men, and that out of all evil the larger good will be finally wrought.

Now, if we believe, as all Christians must do, that the will of God, in the intermediate sense, may be thwarted by sin, and that what God purposes may have to be wrought out in another way because of man's defiance, surely it is reasonable to believe that, in a similar sense, though in an opposite direction, the will of God may be influenced by prayer, and that the final purpose of God may be accomplished in another way, because of man's desire and petition and trust. Is it to be thought that I may divert the will of God in an evil sense by my sin, and that I may not divert the will of God in a good sense by my supplications, so that by a man's sin, but not by a man's prayer, the general purpose of God may be fulfilled along a different line of events? That is a very insolent anomaly, one would think, for any religious mind to accept. What is best in us must surely have as real and as active a relation to the will of God as what is worst in us. And if we believe that our wills may actively affect the will of God by defiance and sin, we must surely believe that our wills may actively affect the will of God by supplication and trust. Unless we do believe that, it would seem that there is little sense in pretending that we believe in prayer at all. However that may be, it is certain that the human spirit will not be really satisfied for long with a conception of prayer which makes it mere self-suggestion, and which leaves so much of life in the shadow of inexorable fate, or something very like it. If it comes to be thought that all that a man's prayer can do is to persuade his own will into a more submissive acceptance of what is irrevocably destined, and what neither his most earnest supplication nor anything else in the world can change in the smallest degree, we do not believe that prayer will

continue for long to hold a place in the life of men¹; and when prayer is no longer believed in as a real activity of the spirit, which has real results, not only in the sphere of self, but also in relation to the universe and to the will of God, religion will not long survive.

In short, there are not, and in the very nature of the case there cannot be, any scientific or philosophical difficulties in the way of believing in prayer exactly as the simplest piety does, except such difficulties as arise out of an assumed determinism, and such an assumption makes not only prayer, but all moral and religious conceptions of life, absolutely impossible.

HENRY BETT.

¹ 'The question on which everything turns is whether we are helplessly yoked to an inexorable necessity, or whether a God exists who rules and governs, and whose power to compel nature we can move by prayer' (Harnack, *What is Christianity?* p. 30).

JOHN HOWARD

THIS is the second centenary of the birth of the illustrious philanthropist. It is well to celebrate the anniversary of men whose names should live for ever. And yet further that, by recalling such times, we may rejoice in the ever upward march—the steady and assured improvement in the world about us. We may accept the statement, not unquestioned, however, that he was born in Hackney on September 11, 1726; but the village of Cardington, near Bedford, is always associated with him as his home. His father was a prosperous citizen of London, a sturdy Dissenter who was fined for refusing to serve as sheriff in 1739. A decidedly pious man, we are told, ‘to whom his son was indebted for that piety which ever formed a distinguished feature in his character.’ The father died in 1742, leaving to his son a fair fortune for those days—seven thousand pounds and the ancestral estate, while another eight thousand went to the only daughter.

After a good education he was bound apprentice to a London grocer in Watling Street. When he was twenty-five he married Mrs. Sarah Loidore or Lardean, at whose house he lodged. She nursed him in his frequent illnesses, and he repaid her motherly tenderness by making her his wife, although she was nearly twice his age. The marriage proved a very happy one, and it was well for him to have her continued care and ministry.

Ten years later she died. His love of travel revived. The pitiable condition of the survivors in Lisbon after the great earthquake of 1755 claimed his sympathy and help, and he set out from England, with all he could get for their assistance, in the Lisbon packet, *Hanover*. It was in connexion with this voyage that he was led to a determination to devote his life to amend the condition of the prisoners throughout Europe. The Lisbon packet was taken by a

French privateer. ‘How the French treat English prisoners I then knew by experience,’ he tells us. ‘Before we reached Brest I suffered the extremity of thirst, not having for above forty hours one drop of water, nor hardly a morsel of food.

‘In the castle at Brest I lay six nights upon straw, and observed how cruelly my countrymen were used there, and at Morlaix, where I was carried next. During the two months I was at Carhaix upon parole I corresponded with the English prisoners at Brest, Morlaix, and Dinan. At the last of the three towns were several of the ship’s crew and my servant. I had sufficient evidence of their being treated with such barbarity that many hundreds had perished ; and that thirty-six were buried in a hole at Dinan in one day.’ At Carhaix, where he was allowed liberty on parole, he went into lodgings, where the master of the house, though an utter stranger, supplied him with clothes and money, as he had been deprived at Brest of all he had. Later he was permitted to return to England on condition of his coming back to France if the Government at home refused to exchange him for a French naval officer. His word was his bond.

On his return he made known to the authorities the condition of the English prisoners, with good result. He tells us : ‘Remonstrance was made to the French Court ; our sailors had redress ; and those that were in the three prisons mentioned were brought home. Perhaps what I suffered on this occasion increased my sympathy with the unhappy people whose case is the subject of this book.’ Thus he begins his work on *The State of Prisons*. The iron had entered into his own soul. In 1758 he married his second wife, Henrietta Leeds of Cambridgeshire, a most happy marriage. One incident reveals alike the character of the man and his amiable wife. Some intimate friend of the family tells us : ‘I have heard him more than once pleasantly relate the agreement he made with his wife previous to marriage, that to prevent altercations about

little matters *he should always decide*. To this the amiable lady readily consented, nor did she ever even regret the agreement, which she found to be attended with the happiest effects.' In 1765 she died on the birth of a son. On Sunday morning, March 31, on her husband's return from church, violent symptoms appeared, and in a little time she expired in his arms. He kept throughout his life the anniversary of that sad death. The son's career was not a fortunate one. He became mentally incapable, and died in 1799, aged thirty-four years.

In 1773 Howard became sheriff of the county of Bedford, and writes in his book of its connexion with the work of his life. 'The distress, of which there are few who have some imperfect idea, then came more immediately under my notice. . . . To the pursuit of my life-work I was prompted by the sorrows of the sufferers and love to my country. The work grew upon me insensibly. I could not enjoy my ease and leisure in the neglect of an opportunity offered me by Providence, of attempting the relief of the miserable.' He knew the perils that attended his efforts, but it only made him more determined. His sympathy was deepened by reading of the prevalence of jail fever and its terrible results. He found the story of 'the black assizes when all who were present died within forty hours'—the Lord Chief Baron, the Sheriff, and three hundred more. 'In 1730, at the Lent Assizes at Taunton, the Lord Chief Justice, the Sheriff, and some hundreds died of the distemper.' 'In 1750 the Lord Mayor of London and an alderman, with many of inferior rank, were carried off in the same way.' If this were the result in the open Court of Justice it is a marvel that those who were confined in an atmosphere so foul could ever survive; and that he escaped where so many it had proved so swiftly fatal. He was utterly fearless and ever went conscious of the divine presence. 'Trusting in Almighty Providence and believing myself in the way of duty, I visit the most noxious cells, and when thus employed I fear no

evil.' He had studied medicine the better to qualify himself for his work. 'I never enter a prison before breakfast, and in an offensive room I seldom draw my breath deeply.'

His medical skill was shown on one occasion in Russia, where an English lady was seized with typhoid fever and supposed to have expired. Howard's careful examination revealed some signs of animation, and by means of restoratives he saved her from a premature grave. Again, when in Turkey, the daughter of some high official was declared to be incurably ill. He prescribed for the young lady with success. The father, overjoyed at her recovery, sent him a present of two thousand sequins (£900). He returned it, saying a plate of grapes would be acceptable. So long as he remained in the city the grapes were never wanting on his table.

His scientific habits—he had been elected a member of the Royal Society—investigated the effects of this prison poison, leaving us yet more amazed at his escape from its deadly effects. His clothes, he tells us, became so offensive that if unable to change he could not bear the inside of a post chaise, and had to travel on horseback. The leaves of his memorandum book became so tainted that he could not use it until he had spread it for an hour or two before the fire. 'The air corrupted and putrified by it is of so subtle a nature as to rot and dissolve the heart of oak ; and the walls have been impregnated with this pernicious matter for years together.'

Like John Wesley, he owed much to his abstemious habits. 'Milk, tea, butter, and fruit sufficed for him, so that he found his simple wants supplied in Spain and Turkey as easily as in England or Wales.' And like John Wesley too, 'the neatness of his person and the order of his apparel corresponded with the method of his plans and the regularity.' An American (Bellows) has drawn a parallel between the two. 'They resembled each other in person, both were of short stature ; in habits, both were ascetic and

self-denying ; in working power, both sacrificed sleep, food, society, to the fulfilment of their mission ; in courage, both overcame prejudice, passions, and perils ; in executive ability, both had clear-cut purposes and carried them into practical effect ; in self-reliance, they acted, not on other people's opinions, but on their own judgement ; in entire consecration, both were above the temptation of riches and honours ; and in their manner of travelling, both lived on horseback, travelling by night and by day, careering through the three kingdoms, making themselves at home in the city and hamlet, among the rich and the poor.' The parallel is clever, says Dr. Stoughton, but it does not give prominence to what brought the two most closely together—both trusted simply and entirely to the same Saviour. In each case religious principle was the root of enterprise, heroism, perseverance, and success.

The two did not often meet—but it was always with a deep mutual regard. When at Dublin in 1787 John Wesley says, 'I had the pleasure of a conversation with John Howard, I think one of the greatest men in Europe. Nothing but the Almighty power of God can enable him to go through his difficult and dangerous employment.' And Howard found an equal pleasure in meeting Wesley. 'I was encouraged,' he says, 'to go on vigorously with my designs. I saw in him how much a single man might achieve by zeal and perseverance, and I thought, Why may not I do as much in my way as Mr. Wesley has done in his, if I am only as assiduous and persevering ? and I determined I would pursue my work with more alacrity than ever.' Again they met two years later, and Mr. Wesley writes, 'Mr. Howard is really an extraordinary man ; God has raised him up to be a blessing to many nations. I do not doubt but that there has been something more than natural in his preservation hitherto, and should not wonder if the providence of God should be still more conspicuous in his favour.'

As sheriff he began with the three prisons of Bedford, in

one of which John Bunyan had written his immortal dream. The conditions were indeed bad enough, yet not so bad as he met elsewhere. Male and female felons were living together, their night rooms being down steps; only a single courtyard for debtors and criminals. No apartment for the jailer. The jail fever had been there twenty years before and many townspeople had died. There was a paper put up as follows, '*All persons that come to this place must pay before discharged, fifteen shillings and fourpence, and fourpence to the jailer, and two shillings to the turnkey.*' This roused his indignation. It meant that those who had been declared not guilty, those against whom no true bill had been found, those in whose case no prosecutor appeared, were kept prisoners, unable to pay the fees of the jailer, clerks of assize, and other officials. Howard at once applied to the Bedfordshire authorities to pay a salary to the jailer in place of these fees. Their reply was a demand for a *precedent*. Alas, how awful a thing is a precedent! The sufferings of these poor creatures must be prolonged, and efforts for their relief must be frustrated until they can find a precedent!

Forthwith Howard rode over the country, visiting the most prominent jails to find the general practice in the matter. He set out in the middle of November 1773, and continued his researches until February, finding in all places that the jailer was paid by fees exacted from prisoners, and by profits upon what was sold to them. We have neither space nor heart to follow him from place to place. It is a monotony of horrors. It is enough to glance at these miseries as we pass here or there some distinctive feature. 'Dungeons deep and damp and dark,' runs the record, and that prisoners slept on mats of the thinnest description. At Nottingham twenty-five steps had to be descended to reach three cells of a less miserable kind, which prisoners had to pay for; twelve more steps to lower dungeons cut out of the sandy rock contained poor creatures without money or friends—stowed away, it might be, for years. At Salisbury,

outside the prison gate, a chain passed through the wall, at the end of which stood a debtor, padlocked by the leg, offering for sale nets and laces. He finds in Yorkshire cells that did not measure more than seven feet six by six feet and a half. They let in light and air through small perforations in the door, and in this horrid confinement three people were locked up night after night from fourteen to sixteen hours.

At Plymouth he records, 'No yard, no water, no sewer. The jailers live distant.' He describes what was called the Chine, seventeen feet long, eight feet wide, and *five and a half feet high*. No light, no air, except such as came through an opening *five inches by seven*. We think of the small, trim philanthropist toilfully taking these exact measurements, and recording, 'Those within this place work, then stand by turns at the opening to get what air they could.' The door had not been unfastened for five weeks before his visit. He insisted upon entering, and found amidst intolerable filth and stench one who had been confined there for no less than seventy days. The one exception should have honourable mention. At Norwich were 'two airy apartments for the sick. The jailer was humane, and respected by the prisoners, who were permitted to sell nets and laces.' He gives a table of fees at Huntingdon : thirteen and fourpence (a heavy sum in those days) when discharged from custody ; half a crown to the turnkey ; three and sixpence a week for a bed ; four and eightpence for two people if they slept together. Such conditions began to be taken up in Parliament, and Howard was called to receive the thanks of the House of Commons, an honour very seldom conferred for any personal service. A Bill was passed doing away with the cruel payment of fees. They were to come out of the county rates. But no means were taken to make the Bill effective. It was only in fifteen out of one hundred and fifty prisons that the law was strictly obeyed.

We can only briefly refer to his visits to the prisons in

Europe, and even in Asia. The condition in Holland was a joy to him far above anything he found elsewhere. 'I know not which to admire most,' he writes, 'the neatness and cleanliness of the prisons, the industry and regular conduct of the prisoners, or the humanity and attention of the magistrates and governors.' He learnt more there than anywhere.

In France he found few debtors in the prisons, owing to a law which made persons who committed them to prison responsible for the payment of nine shillings a month towards their board and lodging. Nor did he find any prisoners in irons. In Germany he found a ceremony common : 'Prisoners are received with what is called *bien venu*, or *welcome*. A machine is brought out in which are fastened their necks, hands, and feet. Then they are stripped, and have, according to the magistrate's order, the *grand venu* of twenty to thirty stripes ; the *demi venu* of eighteen to twenty ; or the *petit venu* of twelve to fifteen. After this they kiss the threshold and go in. Some are treated with the same compliment on discharge.' It is pleasant to read of his interview with the Pope Pius VI. After conversation for some time His Holiness took him by the hand, and said, 'I know you Englishmen do not value these things ; but the blessing of an old man will do you no harm.'

On his way to Berne he tells of an odd occurrence. Twelve convicts managed to escape ; five were retaken. 'The magistrates ordered they should not be punished, as every one must be desirous of gaining his liberty, and they had not been guilty of any violence in obtaining theirs. The punishment therefore fell,' says Howard, 'rightly, upon the keeper.' In the Duchy of Holstein he sees 'the strange sight of people under charge of an officer walking through the streets, encased in tubs, which covered their bodies, their heads projecting through a hole on the top, their legs moving through the open bottom, the contrivance

being termed "a Spanish mantle." In Russia he saw two criminals suffer the punishment of the knout. Every stroke penetrated deep in the flesh. The woman received twenty-five lashes, the man sixty. The master, thinking the executioner too gentle, thrust him aside and himself gave the remaining strokes with greater severity ; they both seemed but just alive. He has a long conversation with Emperor Joseph II. in Vienna. ' His condescending and affable manner gave me that freedom of speech which enabled me plainly to tell him my mind. His Majesty said, "*You hang in your country.*" I said, " Yes ; but death was more desirable than the misery of such wretches as endure in total darkness, chained to the wall, no visitor, no priest even, for two years together. It is a punishment too great for human nature to bear, and many lose their reason." The Emperor shaked me by the hand, and said I had given him much pleasure. It was not a month before he saw every prison and hospital. He continually and unexpectedly looks into all his establishments.'

Howard set out in 1789 for his last journey, with many premonitions as to its end, and made his way to Moscow. Here he who had gone through so many perils met another. ' I went on pretty well till, on the borders of Turkey, my great trunk and hat-box were cut off from my chaise. It was midnight, and my servant and I, having travelled four nights, were fast asleep. When we discovered it I went back directly to the suspected house and ran in among ten or twelve of the banditti. My hat-box was found, but my great trunk was despaired of. Providentially, it was found later by a peasant, who carried it to the magistrate. He sent after me to a town where I was to stay. Nothing was lost ; and they missed about a hundred guineas in the middle of my trunk. My return stunned them ; all would have moved off before the light. *I have broken up the band.*' A man of determination and courage, well fitted for the work to which he gave his life.

Shortly after came the end. It was near Cherson that he fell a victim to the plague ‘Death has no terrors for me,’ he said simply. It was on January 20, 1790, that his dying request was carried out—‘There is a spot near the village of Dophinorka four miles from Cherson. You know the spot, for I have often said I should like to be buried there.’ He directed that there should be no pomp at his funeral, but amidst tokens of mourning befitting royalty he was borne to the grave. ‘But,’ says his biographer, ‘the best tribute to his memory was rendered by peasants and slaves, who wept over him, wondering that he should have left the comforts of his home to care for the prisoner and the captive.’

MARK GUY PEARSE.

THE FOUR DOCUMENT HYPOTHESIS

SUFFICIENT time has now elapsed since the publication of *The Four Gospels : A Study of Origins* to enable us to make a beginning in exploring the possibilities of the new Four Document Hypothesis which Canon B. H. Streeter has proposed as a substitute for the better-known Two Document Hypothesis. Each of the two hypotheses is intended to account for that tangled series of literary phenomena which we call the Synoptic Problem. Prolonged study has led Canon Streeter to doubt the view that Mark and Q are the sole documentary sources used by Matthew and Luke, and to feel the need for positing additional written sources. The Parable of the Lost Sheep (Matt. xviii. 12-14; Luke xv. 3-7) was responsible for bringing this conviction to a head. Streeter observed that the moral drawn by Matthew is quite different from that drawn by Luke. He noted, further, that in order to base the two versions of the parable on Q, Harnack was compelled to maintain that the saying 'There shall be joy in heaven over one sinner that repented . . .' was an editorial addition. These considerations and others have made a deep impression on Streeter's mind. 'The scales,' he says, 'fell from my eyes.' In the Four Document Hypothesis he presupposes the existence of two written sources besides Mark and Q. He suggests that Matthew used a Jerusalem source (which he denotes by the symbol M), which contained the discourse-matter and the parables peculiar to the First Gospel, and that Luke drew upon a document which contained the special tradition of Caesarea (denoted by the symbol L). In these interesting suggestions Streeter has set us a new problem. This problem, which is of great practical importance, may be stated as follows : Can we reach more assured results in Synoptic Criticism by presuming the existence of Mark, Q, M, and L, than can be secured by the view that the first two are the

sole documentary sources used by Matthew and Luke? Is the key to the Synoptic Problem a Four Document Hypothesis?

Already the danger of separating the two hypotheses too sharply is apparent. It is an exaggeration to say that the Two Document Hypothesis has 'broken down,' for obviously, unless this hypothesis is true *so far as it goes*, the Four Document Hypothesis cannot be true at all. The one is the ladder by which we reach the other. It is only as a view which professes to take account of *all* the relevant phenomena that the Two Document Hypothesis can be said to have been found wanting. In point of fact, its deficiencies in this respect have long been confessed. One of its most distinguished upholders, the late Dr. V. H. Stanton, pointed out the danger of too exclusive a dependence upon it, and emphasized the need of giving due place to the influence of oral tradition.¹ Other suggestions, notably that of various recensions of Q (distinguished by such symbols as QMt. and QLk.), have been made in order to meet difficulties frankly confessed. Even if it has been sadly overworked, the theory of editorial modification was a tacit admission that the Two Document Hypothesis needed to be supplemented. Thus the hypothesis has 'broken down' only in the sense that every provisional hypothesis breaks down; it does not carry us to the end of the journey. It is the claim of the Four Document Hypothesis that it bears us farther along the same road, and, if it can make good this claim, it can do so only as an enlargement of the hypothesis which it supersedes. No doubt it would be wrong to classify the Four Document Hypothesis along with the various modifications of the Two Document Hypothesis just mentioned, since it definitely presents us with additional documents. None the less, like the earlier proposals, it is designed to meet discovered wants and

¹ *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, Part II., pp. 181 ff.

50 THE FOUR DOCUMENT HYPOTHESIS

deficiencies, and in this sense it stands to the Two Document Hypothesis as a *supplementary* and not as an alternative theory.

To say this is not to undervalue the importance of Canon Streeter's proposals ; it is rather to give them a value which can hardly be exaggerated, since, if sound, they definitely complete a documentary theory long under debate. That Mark is the first of the Gospels, and that it is one of the principal sources used by Matthew and Luke, are now firmly established positions. Attempts like those of Mr. Jameson¹ to rehabilitate the Augustinian theory, which ascribes the priority to Matthew, fail to shake this solid gain of Criticism, and are but the exceptions which prove the rule. With regard to Q the position is otherwise. If Canon Streeter's theory can strengthen the case for presuming its existence, and at the same time account for phenomena which the sole use of Q does not explain, the result is a triumph indeed. How far the Four Document Hypothesis may be expected to contribute to this result is the question I propose to examine. Perhaps the best method of approach will be to consider first the broad suggestion regarding the existence of written parallel versions, and then the grounds for presuming the use by the later evangelists of such documents as M and L.

I. The theory of parallel versions rests partly on a broad basis of observed fact. ' Whenever the sayings and doings of a remarkable person are preserved in the memory of his followers, different versions of what is substantially the same matter soon become current.' The truth of this is hardly open to dispute. The records of early Buddhism, so far as these reflect good tradition, and the various early lives of St. Francis of Assisi, provide illustrations, and a modern example is furnished by Canon Streeter's recent experience

¹ *The Origin of the Synoptic Gospels.* • *The Four Gospels*, p. 238.

in preparing for publication an account of the life and personality of Sadhu Sundar Singh.¹ It is a just complaint that the 'unconscious assumptions' of the Two Document Hypothesis have led scholars to neglect the probability that at an early date different versions of the Sayings of Jesus were current in the great Churches of Palestine, Syria, and Rome. It is true that Dr. Stanton did give, as one of the causes of the differences from Mark common to Matthew and Luke, 'the influence of parallel accounts in the Logian or other documents,'² but the suggestion was never developed farther in his writings. Immediately we contemplate the possibility of such versions certain consequences are seen to be involved. If these parallel versions existed, they must have reflected different principles of selection; they must also have *overlapped*. In some cases they would agree closely, while in others, under the influence of oral teaching, they would differ widely, the sayings with the most universal appeal being those copied most frequently and in the most divergent forms. All this is sound and persuasive reasoning; but is the existence of parallel versions implied by the literary phenomena found in early evangelic tradition?

The argument from non-canonical sources³ is of uncertain value, because in these cases the possibility that the sources were purely oral is nowhere excluded. This difficulty confronts us in all the examples cited by Canon Streeter—the Epistle of Clement (xiii. 1 f.), the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the two ancient interpolations in Matt. xvi. 2 f. and xx. 28, and the Oxyrhynchus Logia. The sources may be documents, but we can urge this only by analogy from other and clearer evidence. The sounder basis for the argument is the evidence supplied by the phenomena found in the canonical Gospels, and, in this connexion, the theory that the contents of Mark and Q overlapped is pivotal. If they are independent, Mark and Q are parallel versions.

¹ Op. cit., pp. 191 ff. ² Op. cit., Part II., p. 148 f.
³ Op. cit., p. 289 f.

52 THE FOUR DOCUMENT HYPOTHESIS

The relationship between Mark and Q has long been under debate.¹ Canon Streeter's change of mind upon this question is one of the most interesting features in *The Four Gospels*,² for in the *Oxford Studies*³ he argued that Mark knew and used Q. With much force he now claims that the facts are adequately covered by the theory that in certain sayings Mark and Q overlapped—a view which explains why so much of Q is absent from Mark and why the two versions vary so much in language. If this view is accepted, as it probably should be, evidence is supplied of the existence of parallel versions of the Sayings of Jesus in the Churches from which Mark and Q originated.

Further illustrations are given by Canon Streeter in the overlapping of Mark and L, and of Mark, Q, and M, but these points must be postponed until we examine the case for presuming the existence of M and L. One part, however, of the case which the M hypothesis is intended to cover can be considered now. This is the Matthaean and Lucan forms of the Beatitudes, the Lord's Prayer, the Lost Sheep, the Marriage Feast (the Great Supper), and the Talents (the Pounds). In these cases we must recognize with Canon Streeter that the divergences between Matthew and Luke are too great to be explained as the results of editorial modifications of Q. But can we say more? Have parallel versions been utilized? This inference seems necessary, especially in the case of the Parable of the Talents (Pounds). Here the complex literary phenomena are best explained if we presuppose the use of two sources, Q and one other. This inference is justified by the agreements and the differences. The agreements⁴ are such that we must infer

¹ Some scholars, including B. Weiss, J. Weiss, Loisy, von Soden, B. W. Bacon, and (formerly) B. H. Streeter, hold that Mark had a certain knowledge of Q; others, including J. Moffatt and V. H. Stanton, contend that Mark has made no use of Q.

² Cf. pp. 186 ff. ³ Cf. pp. 165 ff.

⁴ Cf. especially Matt. xxv. 21-9 and Luke xix. 17-26.

the use by both evangelists of the common source Q. But how, then, can we explain the divergences,¹ which are quite as remarkable as the agreements? Much the best explanation is to suppose that the parable occurred in two separate sources, and that one of the evangelists—probably Matthew—has conflated these sources.

We may say, then, that the existence of parallel versions of the Sayings of Jesus prior to the formation of the Gospels is a scientific hypothesis, capable of a considerable amount of verification. It accounts for the relationships between Mark and the later Gospels. It also explains, as the sole use of Q does not explain, the agreements and the differences between Matthew and Luke. Further, it allows for the compilation of collections of discourse-material at the various centres of primitive Christianity—a view which is antecedently probable.

II. The case for the theory of parallel versions is obviously fortified if we can find reasonable grounds for identifying written sources, other than Mark and Q, which have been used by Matthew and Luke. Streeter's reasons for the existence of M and its use by Matthew may be summarized as follows :

(1) The marked divergences between Matthew and Luke, in contexts where Q is used as a common source, are easily explained if, in such cases, we may suppose that Matthew is conflating two parallel sources, viz. Q and M.

(2) It can be proved from the literary phenomena of the Gospels that *Matthew does conflate parallel written sources*, viz. Mark and Q. Once we dismiss the view that Mark used Q; this conclusion is irresistible. If Mark and Q are independent, the Marcan features found in contexts where Matthew is using Q must be due to conflation. Convincing proof of this is supplied by Streeter's detailed

¹ Cf. Matt. xxv. 14–20 and Luke xix. 12–16.

examination of the Parable of the Mustard Seed,¹ where he shows that practically every word in Matthew's version is drawn either from Mark or Q.² Similarly, in the case of Matt. x. 9–15,³ he shows that, apart from two obviously editorial additions,⁴ there is no word in any way significant which does not occur either in Mark or in one of the Lucan parallels.⁵ On the basis of such facts as these Streeter enunciates a new principle of Synoptic Criticism : ' Whenever parallel passages of Matthew and Luke exhibit marked divergence, editorial modification of Q is a less probable explanation than the conflation of Q by Matthew with the language of a parallel version.'⁶

(3) The principle just stated proves a valuable key when it is applied to other Matthaean contexts in which Q is used. This is especially the case in the Sermon on the Mount. After deducting all the passages which with the maximum of probability can be assigned to Q, more than two-thirds of the Matthaean sermon remains, and this ' reads like a continuous and coherent discourse.'⁷ Streeter claims that all the phenomena are satisfactorily explained by the view that Matthew is conflating two separate discourses—' one from Q, practically identical with Luke's Sermon on the Plain, the other from M, containing a much longer sermon.'⁸ Having conflated the two sources, Matthew appears to have then added other passages from Q, which Luke gives later in his Gospel in what is more probably their original order. The same hypothesis covers the facts in other Matthaean discourses, such as the Woes on the Pharisees (Matt. xxiii.) and the Charge to the Twelve (Matt. x.). In particular, Matt. xxiii. cannot, as it stands, have been taken from

¹ Cf. Mark iv. 30–2; Matt. xiii. 31 f., Luke xiii. 18 f.

² Op. cit., p. 247. ³ Ibid.

⁴ The place-name 'Gomorrha' suggested by 'Sodom,' and the word 'gold' suggested by 'silver.'

⁵ Op. cit., p. 248. ⁶ Op. cit., p. 249. ⁷ Op. cit., p. 251. ⁸ Ibid.

Q. The divergences between Matthew and Luke are well above the average, there are fundamental differences of structure in the two versions, while the most striking of the few instances where the divergences can be plausibly accounted for by independent translation from Aramaic occurs in this discourse.¹ Matthew has probably 'again conflated a discourse of Q with one on the same topic which came to him in M.'²

(4) A further argument of much importance is the claim that the contexts in which the use of M may be suspected have common features; they have the kind of unity to be looked for in a continuous written source. The passages in question have a clearly-marked Judaistic tendency. Matt. v. 17-20 'reflects the attitude of Jewish Christians who, while barely tolerating the proceedings of Paul, regarded as the pattern Christian, James, surnamed the Just.'³ Matt. x. 5 f. and 23 'look like the beginning and end of a Judaistic version of the Charge to the Twelve.'⁴ In Matt. xviii. 15-22 (Ecclesiastical Sayings) the word 'church' 'clearly means the little community of Jewish Christians'; in a Gentile community the words, 'Let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican,' would have been modified. In Matt. xxiii. 2 f. we have attributed to Christ 'an emphatic commandment to obey, not only the law, but the scribal interpretation of it.'⁵

It will be seen that the above arguments present a good case for presuming the existence and use of M. The hypothesis covers a series of significant facts. It explains the divergences between Matthew and Luke in passages based on Q; it rests on a foundation of proved Matthaean habit (the conflation of written sources); it accounts for the construction of the greater discourses; and it provides a

¹Cf. Matt. xxiii. 26 and Luke xi. 41, and see *The Four Gospels*, p. 253.

²Op. cit., p. 254. ³Ibid., p. 257. ⁴Ibid., p. 255. ⁵Op. cit., p. 257.

reasonable explanation of the Judaistic tendency of passages absent from Luke and presumably from Q. It is true that the absence of these passages from Luke is not an insuperable objection ; the Third Evangelist might have passed them by in Q because they were at variance with his dominant sympathies. The stronger argument is the alien ring of these passages when compared with the prevailing tone of Q. Can they belong to the source which relates the pro-Gentile incident of the Centurion's Servant, and which roundly declares that the Law and the Prophets were until John ?¹ It is a merit of Streeter's hypothesis that he sets these passages against a definite historic background—the desire of the followers of James to find a justification for their disapproval of Paul. No doubt there is a speculative element in the suggestion that these Jerusalem Christians invented or misquoted sayings of Jesus 'which, even if authentic, must originally have been spoken in view of entirely different circumstances' ; but the suggestion is a reasonable one, and, if it is accepted, it throws light upon a dim chapter in the story of primitive Christianity. The real force of the argument from tendency must, however, be distinguished from interesting suggestions of this kind. For Synoptic Criticism its principal significance is its association with the other arguments which point to the existence of M. To find a clearly-marked tendency, in agreement with a known historical situation, in a 'source' suggested by internal evidence and the known methods of an evangelist, is to present a hypothesis which demands serious consideration.

But while good reasons can be given for supposing the use of M by Matthew, a verification of the hypothesis is, from the nature of the case, impossible. In this respect the presumed existence of M cannot stand on the same plane as the theory of parallel versions or the Q hypothesis.

¹ Cf. Luke xvi. 16 and Matt. xi. 12 f.

* Op. cit., p. 256.

For the two latter we have evidence drawn from at least two Gospels. On the other hand, the source M, if it ever existed, has found its grave in a single Gospel. *We know M if, and only as, we find it in Matthew.* It is true that Canon Streeter endeavours to show that M and Mark overlapped, but the evidence is slight, and hardly permits us to alter the statement just made. To a considerable extent this disability is met by the clear signs which stamp the First Evangelist as a conflater of sources. The full force of this Matthaean idiosyncrasy will be felt only by those who make a close study of the First Gospel, and it is probably true to say that those who recognize it most clearly will be least disposed to explain the complex phenomena behind the M hypothesis by the oral theory. Whether more than this can be said remains to be seen. It is doubtful if we shall ever be able to claim Matthew's use of M with anything like the confidence with which we can claim his use of Mark and Q. None the less, the M hypothesis, or something much like it, is necessary if we are to give a scientific account of the literary construction of the First Gospel.

III. In reading *The Four Gospels*, one is struck with the slight treatment given to L as compared with the detailed discussion of M. It is not unmistakably clear in what sense Canon Streeter looks upon L as a document. The phrase 'The Four Document Hypothesis' naturally suggests that L is a version of the sayings and doings of Jesus parallel to Mark, Q, and M, and by implication we should understand a document in which Caesarean tradition had been reduced to writing either by Luke himself or by some earlier compiler. On the other hand, there are indications that by L, Canon Streeter means no more than the notes which Luke may have made during his stay at Caesarea about A.D. 60.¹ For this view a good deal of probability can be claimed, but

¹ Op. cit., p. 218 f.

understood in this sense, L is a very different kind of source from the other three, and the term 'Four Document Hypothesis' becomes misleading. As the expression naturally suggests a more formal written source like Mark, Q, and M, it may be useful to state the arguments against such a view.

The presumption that Luke found such a source already in existence when he first visited Caesarea is the least defensible form of the hypothesis. In addition to the objections which will be mentioned below, this position has serious difficulties of its own. Antecedent probabilities are against it. Can we be even reasonably certain that Caesarea had reduced its tradition to writing so early as A.D. 60—the one period when we know that Luke visited that town?¹ Q itself cannot safely be dated earlier than the fifties, and Q is undoubtedly the earliest of the documentary sources employed in the Gospels. Moreover, in the form under discussion, the L hypothesis is simply another instance of the 'special Lucan source' for which in various ways Feine, B. Weiss, J. Weiss, and others have pleaded. As such, it is exposed to all the difficulties which the latter position has encountered. The author of L has to be thought of as Luke's 'double,' for his sympathies and tendencies are those of Luke himself. Again, we have to explain why L contains the sections which are most characteristic of the Lucan style.² Most difficult of all, we have to account for the terms of Luke's preface (i. 1-4), which surely implies very much more than the piecing together of three documents, Mark, Q, and L. Luke is an author, and any theory which does not allow for this fact will always be found wanting.

If, with Canon Streeter, Luke himself is thought to be the compiler of L, we escape these difficulties, but others of a formidable character remain.

¹ Cf. Acts xxi. 8 ff., xxvii. 1.

² Luke v. 1-11, vii. 36-50, viii. 1-3, x. 29-37, xvii. 11-19, xix. 41-4, xxiii. 5-12, 14, 15, xxiii. 39-48, xxiv. Cf. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, Part II., pp. 291 ff.

(1) Luke's literary practice gives us no reason to think that he has used two parallel versions of the Sayings of Jesus. Unlike Matthew, he does not appear to be a conflater of sources, except in a very modified sense in the Passion and Resurrection narratives. Streeter says that if Luke followed his later practice 'all trace of overlapping there may have been between Q and L will have been eliminated.'¹ How serious a handicap is thereby created is manifest. One of the strongest reasons for presuming the existence of M is lacking in the case of L.

(2) Again, the more reason we have to infer the existence of M, the less need have we to presuppose L. An illustration of this is provided by Streeter's treatment of Matt. vi. 19-21 (Treasure in Heaven; cf. Luke xii. 32-4). He urges that the combination of variation in order with the diversity in wording suggests that Matthew is conflating Q and M—'in which case Luke may be presumed to follow Q.'² Several instances of this argument occur, the most notable being his discussion of the Parable of the Talents (Pounds). Is it not possible, he asks, that Matthew has conflated Q and M, following M more closely at the beginning and Q at the end? 'Luke, then, preserves approximately the Q form.'³ It is clear that if we carry this type of explanation far enough the L hypothesis becomes superfluous for the special purpose for which it is invoked—the need of accounting for the divergences between Matthew and Luke in contexts which involve the use of Q. In building up a case for M we leave no stones for L.

(3) A further objection is the fact that L does not appear to have the unity to be expected in a written source. It is true that we cannot fix too high a standard of unity, and that we cannot recover the 'source' in its original entirety; the objection none the less holds good.

¹ Op. cit., p. 246.

² Ibid., p. 284.

³ Ibid., p. 282.

Any one who will make a list of the sections peculiar to Luke from iii. 1 onwards will find what a formless collection it is ; it is not even the remains of a documentary source. In this respect it compares unfavourably with Mark and Q, and even with M, so far as we can trace this source in the canonical Matthew. Under scrutiny L crumbles away, except as a convenient symbol for the oral tradition of Caesarea, or for this tradition reduced to writing in the rough jottings of Luke's note-book.

For the reasons given above, Canon Streeter's treatment of L appears to be the most debatable part of his Four Document Hypothesis. We have every reason to think that Caesarea had its special tradition, but Criticism can find no sure traces of the L document. Is it necessary to posit even a series of rough notes made by Luke at Caesarea ? This question leads us to consider the suggestion as it bears on Streeter's Proto-Luke Hypothesis. The strong arguments which support the hypothesis do not concern us here ; the one point for discussion is the relation of the L and Q elements to each other in Proto-Luke (QL).

Had Luke committed the L tradition to writing before he compiled Proto-Luke ? This is the new suggestion which Streeter has added to his hypothesis, as compared with the form it took in his *Hibbert* article in October 1921, where his point of departure was the orthodox Two Document Hypothesis. It may be doubted if the new suggestion is necessary or desirable. The basis of Proto-Luke is Q, and it seems best to suppose that it was under inspirations created by the possession of Q that Luke began to collect the further traditional material which he found at Caesarea. In that case this tradition was written down for the first time when it was incorporated in the Proto-Luke document ; L never had an independent existence. One cannot, it is true, rule out the possibility that this matter lay in writing in the evangelist's note-book before a copy of Q came his way,

but this remains at most an interesting speculation. On the whole, it seems much the best not to complicate Synoptic Criticism by the suggestion of an L document. The symbol L stands for what Christians talked about in Caesarea in A.D. 60, not a document with which modern critics have to do.

IV. From the foregoing survey it will be seen that the Four Document Hypothesis makes a very substantial contribution to the problem of New Testament origins. It does not, indeed, compel us to abandon the Two Document Hypothesis, as Canon Streeter suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 234 f.); on the contrary, its discussion sets the latter on more enduring foundations. For with a large measure of success it addresses itself to the serious weakness under which the Two Document Hypothesis has long suffered. It would not be right, however, to confine Streeter's achievement to this result; he has done more than strengthen the position attacked. His greatest contribution is his exposure of the unconscious assumptions to which Two Document theorists are prone. Thus, he deals shrewd blows upon the delusion that 'it is just a little discreditable to any saying of our Lord if it cannot be traced to Q' (*op. cit.*, p. 227), and he exposes the fallacy that antecedent probability favours a hypothesis which reduces as far as possible the number of sources used by Matthew and Luke. It is also with great justice that he denies that editorial modification is a sufficient justification of the divergences between Matthew and Luke in cases where Q is in question. Not less important is his insistence, as a factor of cardinal importance, upon 'the preponderating influence of the great Churches in the determination of the thought and literature of primitive Christianity' (*op. cit.*, p. 230). This point is especially interesting because elsewhere in his book he is able to show how the same influence has played its part in the textual history of the New Testament. Even if the part of his hypothesis relating to L lacks adequate support, the broader

contention, as regards the influence of Caesarea, holds good. The result of Streeter's inquiry is undoubtedly 'to broaden the basis of evidence for the authentic teaching of Christ' (op. cit., p. 270). The imagination which he brings to his task ought not to be a matter for adverse criticism, for imagination, restrained by the facts, is an indispensable part of any criticism worthy of the name. Only when imagination is uncontrolled does it become dangerous and misleading, and of this Streeter is not guilty. In this respect he may be contrasted with Loisy, whose treatment of Synoptic questions is everywhere vitiated by the assumption—for it is nothing else—that the Gospel tradition is *une légende sacrée*, the product of the Christian faith.¹ Streeter's hypotheses are inferences, no doubt sometimes bold, put forward after close study of the complex phenomena within the Gospels, and for this reason they are scientific. Loisy's hypotheses are not derived in the first place from the Gospels; the Gospels, though closely studied, are read in the light of the hypotheses, and are portioned out between the original writers and redactors on grounds which are valid only if Loisy's views about Christian origins are right. The result is a treatment of Synoptic questions fundamentally unscientific. Streeter's hypotheses prove fruitful when applied; they take us behind the Gospels, and introduce us to those conditions and ways of thinking and acting which best account for these writings. The Four Document Hypothesis is an illustration of this, even if every part of it does not emerge unshaken from careful scrutiny.

VINCENT TAYLOR.

¹ Cf. *Les Livres du Nouveau Testament*, p. 11, &c., and *L'Évangile selon Luc*, p. 55, &c.

EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY IN CHINA

IT is impossible to talk with any Chinese to-day—or, indeed, with any one at all on Chinese matters—for five minutes without some mention of the ugly polysyllabic word, extra-territoriality, or extrality, as the Americans call it. Even more perplexing than the frequency of its use is the obscurity of its meaning. And it is just as well, in the interests of international understanding to be clear about one's terms.

By extra-territoriality is meant the claim of a man living in a country not his own to be free from the jurisdiction of the country in which he lives, and to be under the legal care of the country of his birth. This is always the case with an ambassador. He is regarded as the personal representative of the sovereign of another land, and as such is subject only to the jurisdiction of his own home country. In such instances this right is recognized by all civilized powers equally and reciprocally. This is recognized as a special case, and since it is a practice followed everywhere, and by all states, it is not regarded as an infringement of the nation's rights.

What is regarded as an infringement, however, is the demand that such rights should be granted to all subjects of one nation living within the territory of another. To be explicit, China is quite prepared to grant extra-territorial rights to all members of the British Diplomatic Corps living in her country, but she objects to Britain's claim that similar privileges should be granted to all Englishmen living, say, in the British concession in Tientsin. China to-day is hypersensitive in regard to anything that touches her national integrity, and she will not rest till extra-territoriality is ended.

As a matter of history, extra-territoriality is a legacy of

pre-feudalism. In those remote days sovereignty was personal, not territorial; a chief or king ruled over the men of his clan or tribe rather than over a particular area. The feudal system introduced a territorial content into the idea of kingship. Not only was this true in Western Europe, it was true also in China; indeed, China arrived at the conception of sovereignty as territorial before Europe did. As far back as eleven centuries before Christ, the Chou Dynasty divided the empire among feudal lords, whose jurisdiction was of a purely territorial kind. They gradually became independent of the central power, made war one upon another, arranged treaties, and, in a word, recognized each other's territorial sovereignty.

Before the first intercourse between China and the West, the Chinese notion of sovereignty as territorial was quite clearly defined.

What the Chinese ask is, 'Does the Chinese Government rule over China, or only over the Chinese people? Is Government territorial or personal?' If the former, then they demand the right to enforce their laws in every part of their land, even in the foreign concessions. If the latter, then they claim the right to exercise jurisdiction over Chinese living in Western lands; and there are six and a half million Chinese living outside China to-day. All that China is asking for is equal and reciprocal action; and it is difficult to see how her demand can any longer be refused.

In the early days of intercourse between China and the West, the Chinese legal system was one which no Westerner could approve. But early in the present century the Chinese set about revising their legal code. Certain cruel forms of punishment were abolished; the sentence of 'a lingering death' and 'the death of a thousand cuts,' the exposure of the head after execution, branding, the wearing of the *canque*, or wooden collar, and the use of torture, were abolished. This was done with the deliberate

intention of bringing the Chinese legal system more into line with that of the West.

But, in spite of China's efforts to reform her codes and courts, the Western Powers were still unwilling to place their subjects under Chinese jurisdiction. They persisted in their practice of maintaining their own courts in their concessions. This meant that where there were half a dozen foreign concessions in one city there were as many different legal codes. Such a system was bound to give the appearance of judicial chaos, as it also had the effect of lowering the prestige of the Chinese courts in the eyes of foreigners and Chinese alike. In the various concessions there both were, and are, not only different codes, but also different methods of procedure. The identical offence may be punished differently in different courts. In 1901 two Chinese, two Americans, one Englishman, and one Dane, were concerned in a case of murder and robbery near Peking. The two Chinese were executed within twenty-four hours ; the two Americans were sentenced to four years' penal servitude ; the Englishman was kept in prison for six months awaiting the session of the British court, and, as the witnesses failed to appear, he was finally discharged. The Danish Government had no procedure for trial, and the Dane was not even charged.

China regards such a state of affairs as a national rebuke, and to-day she is demanding that she shall be mistress in her own house, having that territorial jurisdiction which should be hers as a sovereign state in the modern world. On the face of it the case would seem to require but little argument ; fair-minded people would agree that China's claim was a just one. But the matter is not quite so simple, and can hardly be decided by rule of thumb. As is natural in the case of countries whose cultural and constitutional evolution has been so different, the ideas of justice are by no means the same in England and in China. A man, just because he is suspect, may be kept lingering in prison for an

indefinite period without being brought to trial ; the courts are often more concerned to 'save face' than to see equal justice done ; there is widespread bribery and corruption, and there is no equivalent to our trial by jury. The differing conceptions of justice and of judicial administration make inoperative many of the recent reforms in the Chinese legal system.

It is precisely this difference in legal notions and procedure, arising out of differing historical background, which has led Western Powers to insist upon extra-territoriality. They regard it as unthinkable that they should allow their own nationals, nurtured in the legal practices of the West, to come under such a jurisdiction as that of China. Their demand for extra-territorial rights has always been regarded by China as an infringement of her sovereignty, but she has not been strong enough either to resist the demand of the Western Powers or to claim reciprocal rights for her citizens living in Western lands. China has, however, been able to maintain her theory of sovereignty as territorial rather than personal, so far as to limit the areas in which extra-territorial rights hold good. Some of these are 'treaty-ports,' or places specially opened to foreign residents by treaty regulations, and some are 'concessions,' or areas leased for a term of years to foreign powers.

Foreigners who wish to see existing extra-territorial rights maintained can readily point to certain obvious advantages. The existence of these rights has attracted Westerners to China who would not otherwise have come. Their coming, which has been mainly for commercial purposes, has led to a considerable development of trade and increase of prosperity, in the advantage of which Chinese as well as foreigners have shared. The withdrawal of extra-territoriality would greatly reduce foreign trade, and would be at least as great a disadvantage to China as to the West. The prevailing practice has made life and property secure in the treaty-ports, and especially in the foreign concessions,

a fact to which the Chinese themselves have not been blind, for many of them have built homes and factories within the foreign areas. In several cases the areas which have been conceded have been waste lands, of which the Chinese would have made no manner of use. Through foreign enterprise these places have been developed, and made to rejoice and blossom as the rose. The foreign concession in Canton, known as Shameen, was once a swamp ; it is now a beautiful and well-developed area ; while the foreign quarter in Shanghai is built on the vast mud-bank formed by the heaping-up of river-silt. The foundations of many of the European buildings there go down as many feet as the building itself rises above the surface. To-day that quagmire is a well-administered part of Shanghai. In spite of China's recent legal reforms, her codes and courts are very deficient when judged by Western standards. And, even if they were entirely satisfactory, there remains the fact that China is powerless to enforce her own laws. The Government's writ scarcely runs beyond Peking. This is probably the real crux of the matter. So long as the Chinese Government is unable to guarantee to foreigners effective protection of their life and property, the Western Powers will be unwilling to surrender their rights of extra-territoriality.

Equally clear is it to the Chinese that these extra-territorial rights must sooner or later be ended. Aflame with their new-found national spirit, the Chinese are affirming their determination to direct their own affairs. 'China for the Chinese' is their cry. The maintenance of extra-territoriality is an infringement of the sovereign power of the Chinese people ; it can no longer be endured. None are more loudly and persistently demanding this than the student class—that is, those who have themselves received an education of a Western kind, and have in many cases enjoyed the benefits of residence in the foreign concessions. They are in a position to know something

of the advantages that have come to China through the present system. None the less, they declare that China must be mistress in her own house, and if foreigners do not care to come on these terms they can stay away, and China will accept all the consequences. The present régime gives, they say, no sort of encouragement to China to set her house in order. Since there are foreign courts and consuls to care for foreigners, China does not feel it incumbent upon her to care greatly for their protection. If, however, extra-territoriality were surrendered, judicial reform would be stimulated, and China would feel in honour bound to safeguard all foreign residents. Whether she is able to do so or not is open to debate, but China is increasingly confident of her ability. Now that a sense of nationalism has emerged, it is indisputable that the maintenance of these extra-territorial rights can be nothing but a cause of friction and suspicion. The Chinese find it difficult to believe that the Western Powers have not some ulterior and sinister motive in maintaining extra-territoriality, and the unwillingness of the Powers to surrender the right serves to confirm them in their belief. They cannot avoid the conviction that the real aim of the imperialistically-minded West is to penetrate and dominate China. The Chinese point to the fact that a spirit of friendly co-operation exists between their country and the Powers that have surrendered extra-territorial rights, with a consequent improvement of trade which is mutually beneficial. China is not hostile to Western influences. On the contrary, she has opened her doors to all who have aught of value to bring or teach. But she is claiming that the Powers should recognize the sovereign rights of the Chinese people within their own land, and bring to an immediate end the present practice of extra-territoriality. That is their claim—and it is difficult to see how the refusal of the Powers to grant it can be morally maintained.

A. M. CHIRGWIN.

THE KANTIAN ETHIC

WHEN we ask what is new and unique in the ethical standpoint of Kant we are compelled to do some historical analysis in order to answer the question aright. Just as he founded a new theoretical philosophy, so he founded a new ethical point of view, and this latter follows from the basic characteristics of his personality. In Kant there was always manifest a deep desire for clearness and truth, for a manly independence which never deviated from the claims of real conclusions. The ethics in the hands of such a man must have its foundation based on what was itself steadfast and immovable. The seed of the *Practical Reason* was set in his life in the godly home from which he came. The foundation of the piety of his parents was too firmly set for Kant ever to escape its moral impact and influence. Also the stoical ethics which Kant often learned from the verses of the Latin poets had certainly influenced his ethical development. This was continuous with the piety, rigorous if you like, of his home life. His upbringing at home and school had deeply established the ethical principles in his consciousness. The words of the Latin poets never remained mere words. The '*tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito*' of Virgil, the '*Summum cede nefas . . . propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*' of Juvenal, had real meaning for Kant. To this must be added the influence of Rousseau, who strengthened him in the understanding of the natural dignity of man. Kant, however, strove for a firmer basis than that of feeling. He could not rest until he had brought his ethical views under a definite first principle, which gave to him a firm law. This discovery, to him, was a kind of spiritual rebirth. This is indicated by a sentence in the *Anthropology*, in which he distinguished it as a kind of rebirth of a certain solemn vow which one takes upon oneself, and which one

cannot forget. It was the beginning of a new epoch of life, an explosion which terminates the vexing condition of a wavering mind. The new view of ethics, then, before its articulate expression, was implicit in his philosophical development, and this can be followed in the writings up to the year 1784.

In the middle of his sixtieth year the ethics becomes free from all religious colouring. We see this in the first pure ethical essay of the already sixty-years-old philosopher in which Kant puts into one sentence of his *Foundation of the Metaphysics* all the accumulated intensity of his soul and all the weight of clear expression. 'There is not anything in the world or outside the world possible that can be held for good without limitation, except a good will.' A sentence such as this for clearness and sharpness has scarcely ever been spoken by a philosopher or a founder of religion. The innermost principle of morality is here revealed. Our philosopher is quite aware of this. With victory in sight, he humbly declares that his ethics when compared with all others are entirely new. Previously all philosophers had taken an external criterion as the principle for the foundation of morality. The materialist made the external atom the criterion ; those like Shaftesbury still had an external criterion (to the will), making feeling or moral sense the criterion. The foundation of morality has nothing to do with the feeling of pleasure. Even the will of God and the ideal of perfection are not the final criterion for Kant, for who claims to know what God always wills or wherein perfection lies ? Kant, therefore, frees morality from the admixture of religion, not because he objected to religion as such, but in order to afford ethics clearness and reality.

His moral system cannot be regarded as quite independent, but it is in accordance with the common laws of human reason. It was only against the merely theoretical speculations of the Schools on moral questions that the Kantian

ethic is found in strong opposition. Kant considered that it was only philosophers who could make the question of what was pure morality doubtful to the mind of those possessed of common reason. He believed, therefore, in his *Critique of Practical Reason*, because only by such a method can the human reason in morals, as well as human reason in common understanding, be brought to a higher righteousness and completeness. The voice of the human reason becomes to the will so distinct, even to the will of the 'plain man,' and the line of demarcation between morality and selfishness is so easily discerned by the ordinary intelligence, and so sharply defined, that only the arid speculations of the Schools are bold enough to turn a deaf ear to the heavenly voice.

Kant did not attempt to teach a new system of morality, as is done with such arrogance by Schopenhauer or Nietzsche. Kant was far too humble to be so pretentious. All he would do was to introduce a new first principle into all morals. He would be the last person in the world to assume that the world was in complete error, for the simple reason that sense of duty is to be found amongst men. He wished that his ethics should escape the bewilderment of the opposing systems, and he desired to break through this recurring warfare of the Schools by the discovery of a sure road to moral knowledge. Just as the mathematician has his indispensable formulae, so Kant argues ethics must have its abiding principle—the formula of *duty for duty's sake*. Duty is not relative to some other ethical principle. As the basis of moral conduct it has no co-equal. It is primary in all ethical life.

Kant sought, then, to find the base upon which an ethic can be constructed. This cannot be done by knowledge of the practices and customs of men and women in different countries and social ranks. This study is simply anthropology for Kant. Neither can ethics be constructed upon mere psychology which deals with mental phenomena and

their manifold forms and activities. It cannot claim as a science to elucidate moral consciousness for Kant. Where, then, is this new principle for the construction of an abiding ethic to be found? In experience, which unites in itself the particular characteristics of human nature. This is a firm standpoint; it is unattached; it is not suspended from anything in the heavens nor supported by anything external to itself. Kant does not conceal his difficulties when dealing with experience; *the key to morality is to be found in personality itself.* *The root of all moral activity is the internal principle of freedom,* which is a regulative ideal. Along with the laws of cause and effect upon which a science of nature hangs, no natural phenomena being excepted, there is this principle of freedom which concerns, not natural events, but the judgements of value. This is, for Kant, the standpoint of ethics through which we elevate ourselves into a quite new timeless order of things. We can, to use Kant's own words, 'have so deep an insight that we can calculate a man's future relations with as much certainty as an eclipse of the sun or moon—and yet assert that man is free' because freedom has its origin in the noumenal world. That is to say, man can judge of his actions according to another criterion than the mathematical—that of freedom, which is quite as sure as the mathematical criterion at the empirical level.

The principle of freedom, then, is the basis of ethics for Kant, but what is its formula? As a basis of this new law of *shall* there are no independent individual maxims belonging to separate persons, but only a *practical law which is for the will of every rational being.* This law or laws of worth come under consideration here. The laws are unconditioned laws; they are not produced by being objects of our desires, and so becoming motives to the will; a scientific ethic demands, then, unconditioned universal laws as necessary bases for the will's activity. Ethics is not a question of our desires at all, for whether the feeling

of desire springs from our lower nature or from our higher nature is all one at bottom. Neither does the feeling of personal power nor the motivation of our conduct by considerations of future blessedness help us. Accordingly, all motives to the good life are ruled out except the criterion of a given universal law or laws. A will which is conditioned by one of these merely law-giving formulae is free. And, on the contrary, for the free will this law-giving formula is the only condition. The basis of the pure practical reason or moral law consists of one formula—without receiving the contents of experience—‘*Act so that the maxim of thy will every time shall be at once a principle of a universal law which you would accept as of value for all.*’

The much-discussed formulae of the *Critical Ethics* does not in any way mean emptiness of contents, because in Kant’s philosophy the form is not in opposition to contents. In the presentation of a universal legislation lies the idea of humanity, which man carries in his personality as the origin of his actions, and which we must every time strive towards as a duty, so long as a truly rational being exists. Since we live in common with millions of other human rational beings, there arises within us, in accordance with nature, the conception of the systematic union of these rational beings through a common law into a ‘Kingdom of Custom.’ In this kingdom every member is not merely a subject, but at all times, and in common with each of the rest, is a *law-giving free citizen*. In so far as I witness the pure will through the presentation of that mere form of a common legislation can I, can man himself, be the creator of the laws of custom, and make possible the autonomy of his will. It is a free self-determination which man lays upon himself, and therefore the yoke of this law is easy and its burden light. Inasmuch as finally the idea of humanity goes back to the single man, it becomes in me the idea of humanity that is the *moral personality*. In fact, the formula does not hide itself conditioned by

external movements, but the laws of morality and its highest evolution are within the soul itself. It reveals to man most deeply his 'real self,' his 'better self,' and his 'dignity,' which consists of the freedom of a rational being to moral laws.

All these ideals of the common legislation of the Kingdom of Ends, the autonomy of the will, humanity, the free moral personality, associated themselves finally with *the thought of a goal*. Not the 'why' but the 'whither,' the conception of a *goal*, is the real domain of our *willing* and actions. The ordering of the lower under the higher, the particular under the universal goal, until we at last succeed in continuous progress to the thought of an *end* or goal of personality, which is not a mere step to a higher, but consists in the rational nature of man himself—this is Kant's view of ethical development. 'In the whole of creation all can be used as means merely for what man wills and what he is able to do. Not only man, but every rational being, is an end in itself.' So it comes to pass that the Kingdom of Morals becomes a Kingdom of Ends, whose laws are the principles which produce in rational beings, one after another, means and goal. The goal in turn becomes the means for a further goal, and so on; endlessly moral personality develops. Such a kingdom is a fact of existence for rational beings and also an 'Ideal' for whose unfolding we shall have to struggle. The moral law contains yet a new and fuller meaning. 'Act as if you wanted the idea of humanity in your own person as well as in the person of every one else as *goal* and not as mere means.'

Up to this point we have only followed the thoughts of the pure ethic in succession. This pure ethic contains only the necessary moral law of a free will. Seeing that this law is applied to the empirical man, with all his conflicting inclinations and feelings, it clothes itself in the form of a command (Imperative), not a conditioned imperative which has to regard all sorts of prudential

considerations, but an unconditioned categorical law, which makes direct commands, because it is based upon the unconditioned goal of the moral law. In human beings in which every act of will is accompanied by a feeling either of pleasure or of displeasure there is produced, by the categorical imperative of the moral law, *esteem*. The rational human being feels himself humbled in the consciousness of his inability as he faces this imperative. The moral human being, on the contrary, is lifted up in the consciousness that he himself can be the creator of such a law of his own reason because he recognizes that *something* in us 'which can be trusted with all the power of the natural self to enter the fight with us, and to conquer when in battle with our moral principles.' The moral man then feels the exaltation of his destiny; his inward being is above all market price, possessing a lofty worth and dignity.

The moral law, by means of the feelings, becomes the driving power of our actions, and generates within us the consciousness of our duty. It is well known how Kant, with inexorable severity, emphasizes this *ideal of duty*. If the shopkeeper does not charge too much for his goods, if a buyer controls his spirit when charged exorbitant prices, if the philanthropist through his benevolence spreads joy around him, we must estimate the moral worth of such things, not from any motives of business prudence, or from natural kindheartedness, but in so far as they are produced by the feeling of duty. 'It is very fine to do good to men out of love and sympathy, but that is not the genuine moral maxim of our relations. . . . Duty and obligation are the names which we alone must give to the moral law.' The honouring of duty has nothing to do with life's uses; it has its own laws, and if one will so shake them up together in order to discover a medicine for the sick soul, one will find that they will not blend. This rigorousness of the categorical imperative is often criticized, but it is the methodical consequence of the pure

ethic. In order to keep the conception of duty quite unalloyed it must be separated sharply from thoughts of future blessedness. Kant does not demand a renunciation of such possible blessedness, but he does not desire it to be something motivating our conduct. There is only one thing that should be said about duty, and that is duty, 'that lofty great name,' which lays down a law that finds its own entrance into the spirit, and is honoured by the will as inclinations are not.

This purity and severity of Kant's moral ideal affects the immortality of man more than fears of hell or hopes of heaven. These latter are only likely to affect deeply the ignorant, becoming sanctions for their conduct. The pure moral motive should be allowed to operate as early as possible, which alone lends to the human character real dignity and worth. Indeed, at bottom it proves to be the only lasting force which propels us to the good. One can detect the receptiveness of this moral ideal at the beginnings of thought in children; it shows itself in the inclination to reason about and announce moral values, which is done more or less adequately in all human society. This inclination to the moral ideal should be encouraged in the mind of the child, and developed by the teacher by bringing examples of moral excellency from history and literature. In this way the judgement of the child is sharpened; and the child can lay a foundation for good morals. The child, however, should not be worried about the loveliness or undesirability of such examples, for that only develops moral insolence or hypocrisy; but he should be taught his duties and obligations, not troubling about the sentiments, but building thereby on deeply-rooted principles.

The profound thought that we are not able to comprehend the unconditioned necessity of moral laws forms the conclusion of the *First Principle* of Kant's ethics.

The conclusion of the *Practical Reason* comes to a great

climax in a lofty utterance such as one frequently finds in Kant. 'The spirit with ever new and increasing wonder and honour filling things with meaning. The starry heavens above me and the moral law in me.' Here he sees the sight of innumerable crowds of visible worlds, there a look into the infinite world of his invisible self—the united world of mind and independent personality. Such a man was Kant, swept with awe at the infinite without, amazed with endless wonder at the deeps of the soul. It required a Newton's mathematical skill to reveal to us something of the marvel of the physical worlds moving with symmetrical beauty in space; it required a Kant, with his flights of genius, to disclose to us the amazing wonders and possibilities of moral personality.

It may be said that Kant's ethic is too rigorous, but perhaps, in these days of loose ends in moral theory and practice, and when the religion of obligation is being much neglected, a glance at the religion of the Puritan, with its sternness, and the rigorous ethic of Kant may still inspire confidence in human nature. I have not here criticized the defects of Kant's position in ethics. I believe, in any case, he has touched one of the basic principles of moral conduct. Divergence of opinion does not destroy the necessity of obligation. The Rev. Dr. W. P. Paterson, in his new Gifford Lectures, has a valuable chapter on the religion of obligation. 'The religion of unmixed and unassisted obligation has an impressive aspect of moral grandeur and of selfless sublimity, and it may be, as has been indicated, that it is sometimes a necessary stage in the education of a people or of a generation; but the truth is, it is not adequate to the terrestrial situation, and in view of the grim condition of man's lot, and especially of the urgency of his spiritual needs, it is not strange that in the witness and the experience of the greatest in the Kingdom of God it has been associated with the faith and the hopes that lay hold on the plenitude of the mercies and the resources

of the infinite being.'¹ It could be similarly argued that an ethic of obligation is right as far as it goes, and the strong man may manage to live up to it, but, unfortunately, most men are weak, and the vision of duty and obligation as the basis of morality often depresses. Kant is not justified in shutting out religious sanctions when dealing with ethics. The best ethic is the most religious, and the access of the grace of God which we have in the gospel is the best guarantee of moral personality and its development.

ERNEST G. BRAHAM.

¹ *The Nature of Religion*, p. 260.

WERE THE EARLY CHRISTIANS TRINITARIANS ?

TH E doctrine of the Trinity is a development of Christian theology. That is neither for nor against the fact of the Trinity, if it be a fact. The doctrine may be a true expression of the fact, or it may be an untrue expression, or it may be partly both.

The idea is that God is not a single unity, like a mathematical point, but is a complex unity, like the soul of man, and that that complexity is revealed to us as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—the Father the fountain of the divine life, the Son the expression of the Father's love (for love cannot exist in the nature of things without an object), and the Holy Spirit the connecting bond of the union between Father and Son, and in and for the Son the agent of all life-giving processes of God. And further, the thought behind the Trinity is that this manifoldness of being in God is not historical, so to say, but is essential ; that is, that God did not begin at some ' time ' in His being to be Father, did not start somewhere in eternity to take on an increase of being, to become more of a God than He was before by becoming Father, but that He was always Father because He was always God.

It is not the purpose of this paper to canvass the New Testament territory ; only I might say in passing that the substance of what came to be called the doctrine of the Trinity is in the New Testament, and was witnessed in the apostolic Church. Not only is the Son differentiated from the Father, and the Spirit from both ; they are placed together, yet kept distinct in that placing, so that you get the actual beginning of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Take the famous Trinitarian benediction with which Paul closes 2 Cor. : ' The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with

you all.' This epistle was written from the very heart of the Christian society, in the first glow of Christianity, only about fifteen years from the Crucifixion. It shows that the idea of God as Father, Son, and Spirit was embedded in the Christian consciousness ; it was a part of the universal Christian reaction to the thought of God; and numerous passages in the New Testament—some of them incidental—show the same almost unconscious taking for granted what came to be called the Trinitarian conception. How could this be unless there was a living tradition to that effect going back to Christ Himself ? With the tremendous conviction of monotheism, on which Christianity rested, could Christians take as a matter of course this relegation of God into Father, Son, and Spirit unless the words of Christ in Matt. xxviii. 19 lived on in the Church ? And if you will study these passages you will soon see that the mere modal Trinity or historical manifestation Trinity is not sufficient. God cannot be the Father of Himself ; and the Spirit which reveals God, testifies of Christ, and by whom only we commune with God, cannot be absolutely the same with God and with Christ. For although Christianity is above reason, it is never contradictory to reason or against it, nor absurd, nor a verbal puzzle. In other words, in the very being of God Himself there must be, according to the New Testament, distinctions which we call Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

Let us now take the post-apostolic Fathers. Clement of Rome has the same distinctions (A.D. 97).

The ministers of the grace of God through the Holy Spirit (8). For the Holy Spirit saith (18), The sceptre of the majesty of God, even our Lord Jesus Christ, came not in the pomp of arrogance or of pride, though He might have done so, but in lowliness of mind, according as the Holy Spirit spake concerning Him (16). All these things the faith which is in Christ confirmeth, for He Himself through the Holy Spirit thus inviteth us (22). Ye have searched the Scriptures, which are true, which were given through the Holy Spirit (45). [I quote this because Clement evidently distinguished the Spirit from the Father.] Have we not one God and one Christ and one Spirit of grace that was

shed upon us ? (46) [distinguishing the Spirit from Christ, both from God the Father]. For as God liveth, the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, the Holy Spirit, who are the faith and hope of the elect, so surely shall he, &c. (58). Written by us through the Holy Spirit (68). [And although in his final benediction Clement does not bring in the Holy Spirit, that is—so to speak—by accident, as it is evident by other passages that in his mind the Spirit had His own place in the life of God.] The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and with all men in all places who have been called by God and through Him, through whom be the glory and honour, power and greatness, and eternal dominion unto Him from the ages past and for ever and ever. Amen (65).

In the Ancient Homily (the so-called ‘2 Clement,’ perhaps 140) the Holy Spirit is differentiated from the Father and Christ. ‘He shall receive her [the Church] again in the Holy Spirit. . . . So excellent is the life and immortality which this flesh can receive as its portion, if the Holy Spirit be joined to it’ (14).

In Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch (110–17), though Christ and the Father are chiefly in evidence, the Spirit is not ignored.

‘Prepared beforehand for the building of God the Father, being hoisted up to the heights through the engine of Jesus Christ which is the cross, using for a rope the Holy Spirit; while your faith is your windlass, and love is the way that leadeth up to God’ (*ad Eph.*, 9). ‘The prophets, being His [Christ’s] disciples, were expecting Him as their teacher through the Spirit’ (*ad Mag.*, 9). ‘Be ye confirmed in the ordinances of the Lord and His apostles, that ye may prosper in all things whatsoever ye do in flesh and spirit, by faith and by love, in the Son and in the Spirit, in the beginning and in the end’ (18). ‘Entreat ye for me that I may through the Holy Spirit’ (*ad Rom.*, 8) [the words ‘through the Holy Spirit’ are not in all MSS.]. ‘With the deacons that have been appointed according to the mind of Jesus Christ, whom after His own will He confirmed and established by His Holy Spirit’ (*ad Philad.*, Introd.).

When we think how many times Ignatius speaks of Christ, the fewness of the times in which he speaks of the Holy Spirit is striking; but, though few, they are fit; fit because they are appropriate and sufficient. That is, he distinguishes between the Spirit and Christ, and between the Spirit and the Father. He recognizes distinctly what came to be called the Trinity—the germ of that doctrine is in Ignatius.

The letter of the Smyrnaeans on the Martyrdom of Polycarp (perhaps 155–63) is a genuine document of our early time, and it gives evidence of beginnings of the doctrine of the Trinity. And, as written by one Church to another, it may be taken as an unconscious tribute to a more or less universal feeling. ‘ I bless thee that thou hast granted me this day and hour that I might receive a portion amongst the number of the martyrs in the cup of [thy] Christ unto resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and of body, in the incorruptibility of the Holy Spirit. . . . For this cause, yea, and for all things, I praise Thee. I bless Thee, I glorify Thee, through the eternal and heavenly High Priest, Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, through whom and with Him and the Holy Spirit be glory both now and for the ages to come. Amen (14). . . . That the Lord Jesus Christ may gather me also with His elect into the heavenly Kingdom ; to whom be the glory with the Father and the Holy Spirit for ever and for ever. Amen ’ (22).

The Teaching of the Apostles, or, as the title itself reads, ‘The Teaching of the Lord to the Nations through the Twelve Apostles’ (the Didache), well dated, by Lightfoot, in the beginning of the second century (probably about 120–5), is a manual for the deliberate instruction of the Church, and as an early document is all the more important. ‘ Concerning Baptism, thus shall ye baptize. Having first recited all these things, baptize in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit in living [running] water. But if thou hast not living water, then baptize in other water, then pour water on the head thrice in the name of the Father and the

Son and the Holy Spirit' (47). The writer also speaks of the Spirit in a way to recall the use of the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures as the source of enlightenment. 'And any prophet speaking in the Spirit ye shall try (11). And whosoever shall say in the Spirit, give,' &c. (11).¹

The Epistle of Barnabas (perhaps 70-9, or later). 'The ordinances of God. . . . The Spirit poured out among you from the riches of the fount of the Lord (1). The Spirit of the Lord foresaw' (6). Barnabas has much about the Lord, God, Christ, but mentions the Spirit only two or three times, but then in a way that seems to distinguish Him from God the Father and Christ.

The Shepherd of Hermas (about 140) distinguishes between Father and Spirit, but in a unique way. In Sim. v. 2 there is a parable of an estate or vineyard, where the lord or master means God; the servant to whom he gave the vineyard means the Son ('the servant is the Son of God,' v. 5), and the Son with whom he takes counsel is the Spirit. In v. 6 he speaks of the holy, pre-existent spirit dwelling in the flesh. 'This flesh [evidently the same as person or Christ] lived honourably in chastity, laboured with the Spirit, and behaved boldly and bravely; then God chose this flesh or person as a partner of the holy spirit.' Now whether Hermas means that the pre-existent Christ was holy spirit or Holy Spirit, and that the latter dwelt in the flesh of Jesus, we do not know. When he speaks of the Son cleansing our sins by labouring much and enduring many toils (56) he certainly refers to Christ, and by the holy, pre-existent spirit who dwelt in the flesh he probably meant that Christ was that spirit—that is, that He was a spiritual being before His incarnation, and not that He was the Holy Spirit. We know that the baptismal formula was well known; it is hard to think of any one about the year 140, to whom that formula was familiar, confusing the Holy Spirit with Christ. At the

¹ Numerous editions in Europe and America, 1884-5. Discovered 1878; published in Constantinople in December 1888.

same time Scripture teaches that Christ was really holy spirit. 'Now the Lord is the spirit [or Spirit], and where the spirit [or Spirit] of the Lord is, is liberty . . . even as from the Lord the spirit [or Spirit]' (2 Cor. iii. 17, 18). Here the Lord is evidently Christ (see iv. 5). This reference to Christ as spirit was not unknown in the second century. 'If Christ the Lord, who saved us, being first spirit, then became flesh, so called us,' &c. (Anc. Hom. = '2 Clem.' 19). 'So also in the end, the Word of the Father and the spirit of God, having become united with the ancient substance of Adam's formation' (Iren. v. 1, 3). (See other references in Seeberg, *Hist. Doct.*, i. 59.) It seems better, therefore, to interpret Hermas as referring to the pre-existent Christ as spirit than as the Holy Spirit. The parable in Sim. v. 2 certainly presupposes three divine 'Persons.' It is clear also from Sim. ix. 1 that Hermas was in the habit of using Holy Spirit in more than one sense, not only as the Son or Christ, but as the Church, which is also Son of God. 'I wish to show thee all things that the holy spirit, which spake to thee in the form of the Church, showed unto thee. For that spirit is the Son [or son] of God.' Perhaps Seeberg expresses the truth in the thought that a thorough dogmatic distinction between Son and Spirit had not been carried through by the time of Hermas; just as Paul, who plainly distinguishes between the Spirit and Christ in 2 Cor. xiii. 14, yet says also that the Lord (Christ) is the spirit or Spirit (iii. 17); and just as Christ, in John xiv. 16-18, almost merges himself in the Holy Spirit, and vice versa. (See Seeberg's *Dogmengeschichte*, 2 Aufl., 1908, i. 99, note.)

Remember also that, if Christ had any pre-existence at all, it could only have been as spirit. But Hermas is an allegory, and his names and conceptions are not clearly distinguished. He had the idea of God, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, but how he distinguished them we can hardly say.

I would say, then, that the apostolic Fathers (97-140) had the germ of the doctrine of the Trinity, but they did not

have the doctrine. It was too early to enter into reflections on the unity and diversity of the divine Being, and to their naïve faith an exact determination of the hypostases in God lay at a distance. It was fitting that the Father who dwelt geographically nearest the biblical centre—viz. Ignatius of Antioch—should have the clearest conception, as we see in *ad Eph.*, 9, and *ad Philad.*, Introd. The Ancient Homily ('2 Clem.') confesses God, the Father of Christ, Christ who was spirit (or Spirit) and became flesh, and the Holy Spirit as the power through which the Church, which is thought of as pre-existent in some sense, is realized or is upheld (14). 'That ye may prosper,' says Ignatius, 'in flesh and spirit, by faith and by love, in the Son and Father and in the Spirit' (*ad Mag.*, 18). The triadic formula was thus in full swing, and the third member of it was not simply another name of God the Father. In that case there would have been only a dualistic formula. A formula is not a rhetorical flourish. If the formula 'Father and the Lord Christ' is the designation of the whole revelation of the divine Being, as Seeberg says (*DG.*, 2 Aufl., i. 111), that is only as including Holy Spirit in the background, and must have been so in a Church which was reading 2 Cor. xiii. 14. The reason that Paul's greetings to the Churches, in the beginning of his epistles, do not by name include the Holy Spirit ('Grace to you from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ') is that, in the historical situation, the position of Christ as the mediator of salvation was in the foreground of his thought and theirs, and, when once the place of Christ was assured, that of the Holy Spirit was taken for granted. If in the greeting he mentioned God the Father only, it was as though he were writing to regular Jews, or even to heathens; but in adding Christ he added everything else pertinent to Christianity. And when, later, Judaism threw up to Christians that they were ditheists (Weber, *Altsynag. Theol.*, 148), that meant, not that Christians did not confess also the Holy Spirit, but that their confession of Jesus the Nazarene as the Son of God, besides, of course,

God the Father, filled the horizon of the Jews' objection and hatred. Loofs has so emphasized this confession of the Father and Christ that he has called the early Christians binitarians, rather than Trinitarians (in the Hauck *Realencyk.*, 8 Aufl., iv. 26 f.). That does not help us much for, however much the Father and Christ are spoken of together, it is undeniable that the triadic or Trinitarian formula existed from the beginning, and went along with the twofold designation. And when it is said that the Spirit went out from God, or the Father, to possess Christ or inspire Christians, did that mean that the Spirit was identical with Father, any more than it meant that the Spirit was identical with Christ, when it is said that the latter sent the Spirit? He did not send Himself. Christ may be thought of as including the Spirit in Himself, in the sense that the Spirit has no function except to testify of Him and make Him effective in humanity. So the early Christians might be called binitarians. But Trinitarian conceptions and forms of speech ever and anon appear, and that binitarism can be looked upon, not as a rival form of expression to Trinitarism to explain early Christian views, but as an abbreviation of it. (See Seeberg, *lib. cit.*, 112, note.)

Justin Martyr (about A.D. 140, 1 *Apol.*; 150, *Trypho*; and 160, 2 *Apol.*), the first learned convert to Christianity in the second century, has clear echoes of our teaching.

But both Him (the most true God, the Father of righteousness) and the Son who came forth from Him and taught us these things and [taught] the host of the other good angels who follow and are made like Him, and the prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore, knowing them in reason and in truth (1 *Apol.*, 6). And that we reasonably worship Him [Jesus Christ], having learned that He is the Son of the true God Himself, and holding Him in the second place, and the prophetic Spirit in the third, we will prove (18). When the Spirit of prophecy speaks . . . our Jesus Christ . . . but God foreknowing all (42, 44). He [Plato] gives the second place to the Logos, which is with God, who he said was placed crosswise in the universe; and the

¹ This is probably the construction. Cf. 1 *Apol.*, 18, 16, 61.

third place to the Spirit who was said to be borne upon the water (59). For in the name of God the Father and Lord of the universe, and of a Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit they then receive the washing with water (61). For no one can utter the name of the ineffable God. . . . And in the name of Jesus Christ who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the Holy Spirit, who through the prophets foretold all things about Jesus, He who is illuminated is washed (61). And the president of the brethren, taking them [eucharistic elements], gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son Jesus Christ and through the Holy Spirit (67). [In *Trypho*, 54, Justin distinguishes between the Holy Spirit and Christ, and in 56 between the Holy Spirit and God.] One is called God by the Holy Spirit besides Him who is considered Maker of all things (56; p. 224, *A.N.F.*). This [passage] referred to Christ, and you maintain Him to be pre-existent God, and having become incarnate by God's will to be born man by the virgin . . . and He is filled with the power of the Holy Spirit (87).

It is not necessary to continue quotations from this ablest of the first apologists, who in the years 140–60 witnessed clearly to the substance of the doctrine of the Trinity.

Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, Gaul, about 180, in his book against the Gnostics, did not have to treat the Trinity. But incidentally he distinguishes the Holy Spirit from the Father. He speaks of those 'who had received the Spirit of God, by which we cry, Abba, Father.' 'What shall the complete grace of the Spirit effect, which shall be given to man by God' (v. 8). He also distinguishes the Spirit from the Son. 'He [Paul] manifestly declares the body to be the temple, in which the Spirit dwells. So also the Lord speaks in reference to Himself : Destroy this temple ; in three days I will raise it up' (v. 6. 2). 'Now God shall be glorified in His handiwork, fitting it so as to be conformable to and modelled after His own Son. For by the hands of the Father, that is by the Son and the Holy Spirit, man and not a part of man was made in the likeness of God' (v. 6. 1). In another characteristic passage he distinguished the three so-called Persons. 'Since the Lord has thus redeemed us with His own blood, giving His soul for our souls, and His flesh for our

flesh, and has also poured out the Spirit of the Father for the union and communion of God and man, imparting indeed God to men by means of the Spirit, and on the other hand attaching man to God by His own incarnation, and bestowing upon us all at His coming immortality durably and truly, by means of communion with God—all the doctrines of the heretics fall to ruin' (v. 1. 1). Here we have the function of the Persons : the Son as redeemer and atoner, and as giving immortality through His incarnation, the Spirit as the only organ of communion between God and man. The good bishop, therefore, who was a pupil of Polycarp, who was a pupil of John the Apostle, is not without some kind of philosophy of the Trinity. He says again : 'By this arrangement, therefore, and these harmonies and a sequence of this nature, man, a created and organized being, is rendered after the image and likeness of the uncreated God—the Father planning everything well and giving His commands, the Son carrying these into execution and performing the work of creating, and the Spirit nourishing and increasing, but man making progress day by day and ascending towards perfection, that is, approximating to the uncreated One. For the Uncreated is perfect, that is God' (iv. 28. 3). 'And since He [Christ] chose the patriarchs and those [who lived in Old Testament times] is the same Word of God who visited them through the poetic Spirit' (iv. 26. 8).

We have now Irenaeus's Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching, discovered in December 1904 in the Church of the Blessed Virgin at Eriwan in Armenia by Dr. Karapet Ter Mekertshian, edited by him, and translated into German in conjunction with Dr. Erwand Ter Minassiantz, in 1907 in the celebrated Harnack series, *Texte und Untersuchungen* (xxxii. 1), who added notes and a brief dissertation. A new translation into German was made by Weber (with help of Armenians) in 1912. A translation into English was made by the Anglican scholar J. Armitage Robinson, with admirable introduction and notes (London : S.P.C.K., 1920). The

same teaching is here as in the book *Against Heresies—the Trinity*, but no explanation, no philosophy. ‘For He [Jesus] was named Christ, because through Him the Father anointed and adorned all things ; and because on His coming as man He was anointed with the Spirit of God and His Father’ (53). ‘Such as feared God and died in righteousness and had in them the Spirit of God. . . . But for those who after Christ’s appearing,’ &c. (56). ‘For there are passages in which the Spirit of God through the prophets. . . . For that which with God is essayed and conceived of as determined to take place,’ &c. (67). ‘Now by Jacob and Israel he means the Son of God, who received the power from the Father over our life, and after having received this brought it down to us who were far off from Him, when He appeared on the earth and was conversant with men, mingling and mixing the Spirit of God the Father with the creature formed by God, that might be after the image and likeness of God ’ (97).

We may say, then, that the early Christians, as represented by writers up to, say, 190, while they had no doctrine of the Trinity in the sense of a worked-out theology, had a doctrine in the germ—that is, believed in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, distinguished between these three, believed them all divine in the one life of the one God, and were thus Trinitarians. That is all we can say, but it is enough.

J. A. FAULKNER.

WOODROW WILSON'S SILENT PARTNER

COLONEL HOUSE was a unique figure in the anxious years of the Great War. He was recognized as the silent partner of the President of the United States, and had free access to Government circles both among the Allies and the Central Powers. He made friends everywhere, and discharged the delicate duties of Ambassador Extraordinary with a tact and courtesy which won him the confidence of statesmen and leaders of public opinion on both sides of the Atlantic. It is a striking record, and the intimate papers¹ which Dr. Seymour has been allowed to open up to the world form a set of studies of the undercurrents of diplomacy which will never lose their interest.

The Colonel describes himself in a Prefatory Note to the volumes as a partisan of Woodrow Wilson, and of the measures he so ably and eloquently advocated. They differed sharply on the question of military and naval preparedness. Colonel House believed that the President represented the opinion of the United States, apart from the Atlantic seaboard, and is not sure, had he advocated the training of a large army, that Congress would have sustained him. 'But I am sure,' he adds, 'given a large and efficient army and navy, the United States would have become the arbiter of peace, and probably without the loss of a single life.' When the President became convinced that a large navy was required, Congress readily yielded to his wishes, but Colonel House is not sure that it would have consented to a request for an equally large army. 'The two arms do not hang together on even terms, for the building of a great army touches every nerve centre of the nation, social and economic, and raises questions and antagonisms which

¹*The Intimate Papers of Colonel House, arranged as a narrative by Charles Seymour, Professor of History at Yale University* (London: Ernest Benn ; 2 vols., £2 2s. net).

could never come to the fore over a large navy programme.' The President had his shortcomings, but his struggle with the Senate made the League of Nations and his own name 'inseparable, and his enemies have helped to build to his memory the noblest monument ever erected to a son of man.'

The House family came from Holland, where their name was Huis. The Colonel was a seventh son, born at Houston, Texas, in 1858. He remembers how his father came home and told his mother that Lincoln had been shot. That, he said, was the worst thing that had happened to the South. Mr. House sent many cotton ships to run the blockade. Dark and stormy nights were chosen. In the afternoon he would scan the horizon with his glasses to see how many Federal gunboats were patrolling the coast. His ship would go out in the early part of the night, and if in the morning all the cruisers were there he knew that the cargo had got safely through the blockade.

Colonel House married in 1881 and made his home at Houston and then in Austin, Texas, where he engaged in cotton-farming and commercial enterprises. He built a large house in Austin, where he entertained such distinguished guests as Dr. Charles Eliot of Harvard, and became widely known to business men, editors, lawyers, and educators. 'He loved the open country, the smell of the campfire, and the meal cooked over its embers.' He read widely and 'underwent the political schooling that prepared him to assume a guiding rôle in national and international affairs.' An ardent Democrat, liberal and progressive, he was awake to the fact that Texas, with its tremendous influence in the party, formed an ideal spring-board. He took an active interest in the affairs of his State from 1892 to 1902, and showed an almost uncanny ability to foretell the effects which any measure would have upon public opinion. He declined many positions of honour and power, and might have been Governor if he wished. A broader field of action

92 WOODROW WILSON'S SILENT PARTNER

attracted him, though it seemed that the Democratic Party would never be able to rehabilitate itself. In 1910 the outlook brightened, and House came east from Texas looking for a promising man as Presidential candidate. Woodrow Wilson, then Governor of New Jersey, seemed the only one who in every way measured up to the office. House studied his record, read his speeches, and decided to do all that lay in his power to further his election. That was in the winter of 1910-11. They did not meet till November 24, 1911, when Wilson called alone on House at the Hotel Gotham, New York. From that moment the personal friendship began which Sir Horace Plunkett called 'the strangest and most fruitful personal alliance in human history.'

Their talk in the New York hotel lasted only an hour, but each felt an instinctive personal liking for the other; Wilson dined with him on the following Wednesday. A few weeks later, after they had exchanged intimate confidences, House asked Wilson if he realized that they had only known each other such a short time. He replied, 'My dear friend, we have known one another always.' 'And I think,' adds the Colonel, 'this is true.' He felt, as he had never done with Bryan, that Wilson was a man one could advise with some degree of satisfaction. The Presidential election was due within a year, and much depended on Bryan's approval of Wilson's candidature. This Colonel House set himself to secure. Unfortunately Wilson had written five years before: 'Would that we could do something at once dignified and effective to knock Mr. Bryan once for all into a cocked hat.' The large-minded Democrat did not allow that unfortunate sentence to prejudice him against Wilson. Without Bryan and the steadfast enthusiasm of the forty Texas delegates, Wilson could not have been nominated, as he was, in the Democratic Convention at Baltimore on the forty-sixth ballot. The Republican Party was divided through the Progressive section which Roosevelt organized, and in 1912 the Democratic Party

thus gained a President after being in the wilderness for twenty years. House held no office, but 'there was no thread in the campaign pattern which he had not touched, no symptom of party discord which had not evoked his genius for pacification.' After the election he took a large part in sifting the claims of importunate applicants, and in helping Wilson to form his Cabinet. It was intended to make Walter Page Secretary of the Interior, but he had left town and the office was filled otherwise in his absence. That left him free for the London Embassy which House was instructed to offer him two months later. 'He was immensely pleased with the compliment, but expressed doubt as to his ability to fill the place. It was so entirely different from anything he had previously done.' When told of Page's consent the President replied, 'That is fine; I am very glad.' Thus one of the truest friends of Great Britain came to a post in which he was to render her supreme service in the darkest days of the Great War.

The President described House as 'my second personality. He is my independent self. His thoughts and mine are one. If I were in his place I would do just as he suggested.' They were in constant consultation on public affairs. House regarded Wilson's power of leadership as supreme, but felt that his delay in meeting vexatious problems was a serious weakness. He was also regarded as aloof and coldly self-conscious. House undertook interviews and correspondence likely to avert such criticism, intercepted importunates on their way to the White House, and promised to arrange their business with the President more rapidly than they could themselves. He sifted applications for appointments, and kept the President in touch with the currents of opinion and affairs.

Immediately after the election in 1912 a novel appeared, *Philip Drie : Administrator*, which described how a young West Point graduate remade the Government, reformed the basic laws that determine the relation of the classes

94 WOODROW WILSON'S SILENT PARTNER

and brought about an international league of powers, founded upon Anglo-Saxon solidarity. The novel was anonymous, but it was begun by Colonel House during his convalescence after a serious illness at Austin, and, though some things in it did not commend themselves to his more deliberate judgement, he said, 'Most of it I stand upon as being both my ethical and political faith.'

Colonel House was eager to bring about a Pan-American Pact which might guarantee security from aggression and furnish a mechanism for the pacific settlement of disputes. He devoted much thought and labour to this prototype of the Covenant of the League of Nations, but it was pushed to one side by the Great War, and when the United States joined the Allies in 1917 the Pact slipped into a forgotten grave.

House felt, as did Roosevelt, that a European war must affect every part of the world, and that it was the duty and interest of the United States to do all in its power to avert it. On January 22, 1918, he told his friend Martin that he wanted to get Mr. Wilson 'to let me bring about an understanding between Great Britain, this country, and Germany, in regard to the Monroe Doctrine.' He was anxious to secure a better understanding between England and Germany. That summer he discussed this plan with Page in London, who felt that the time was ripe for some great constructive, forward idea.

In May 1914 he set out on what he called the Great Adventure. In Berlin, he told the President, 'The situation is extraordinary. It is militarism run stark mad. Unless someone acting for you can bring about a different understanding, there is some day to be an awful cataclysm. No one in Europe can do it. There is too much hatred, too many jealousies.' The best chance for peace was an understanding between England and Germany in regard to naval armaments. 'It is an absorbing problem, and one of tremendous consequence. I wish it might be solved,

and to the everlasting glory of your Administration and our American civilization.'

He had an hour's talk with von Tirpitz, who evinced a dislike for the British that amounted almost to hatred. The English, he complained, 'looked down upon Germans and considered them their inferiors.' 'He disclaimed any desire for conquest and insisted it was peace that Germany wanted, but the way to maintain it was to put fear into the hearts of her enemies.' He was the most anti-English of any of the German officials with whom Colonel House talked. At the Aviation Field, the American visitor saw Fokker perform all sorts of dangerous and curious manœuvres, little thinking how terribly familiar the airman was soon to become. House was received by the Kaiser, whom he found much less prejudiced and belligerent than von Tirpitz. House spoke of the community of interests between England, Germany, and the United States. If they stood together the peace of the world could be maintained. To this the Kaiser assented quite readily, though, when the visitor expressed his opinion that there could be no understanding between England and Germany whilst he continued to increase his navy, the Kaiser gave his reasons for having a large navy.

President Wilson felt a thrill of pleasure on receiving House's report, and expressed his confidence that he had begun a great thing and was carrying it through with characteristic tact and quietness. In London, House had conversations with Sir Edward Grey and other statesmen who were anxious to do their utmost to convince Germany of our peaceful intentions and to lay a foundation for a permanent system of international co-operation. Viscount Grey describes House as 'a man of exceptional knowledge and cool judgement' who told them that the air in Germany 'seemed full of the clash of arms, of readiness to strike.' Whilst he was waiting for some definite word which might be passed on to the Kaiser, the murder of the Archduke

96 WOODROW WILSON'S SILENT PARTNER

brought on the dreaded crisis. At first it created little excitement in London, and Gerard, the American Ambassador, wrote nine days later, 'Berlin is as quiet as the grave.' Dr. Seymour emphasizes the sinister nature of that sentence on the eve of Armageddon. Colonel House had done his utmost to avert disaster. The Kaiser said at Doorn that his visit to Berlin and London 'almost prevented the World War.'

House speaks of the conservative delay of Grey and his *confrères*, and Dr. Seymour adds, 'If only the British had been less deliberate in their consideration of House's proposals, an understanding might have been reached before the murder of the Archduke.' That is not the impression which the record makes on our minds. Such delicate negotiations cannot be hurried, as the story of the Pan-American Pact had clearly proved. House gives his view of the situation in his diary for April 15, 1915. The Kaiser 'did not believe Great Britain would go to war concerning such a happening in the South-East. He went so far in what might be termed "bluff" that it was impossible at the last moment to recede, because the situation had gotten beyond him. He did not have the foresight to see the consequences, neither did he have the foresight to see that the building up of a great war machine must inevitably lead to war. Germany has been in the hands of a group of militarists and financiers, and it has been to conserve their selfish interests that this terrible situation has been made possible.'

It was not till the autumn of 1915 that President Wilson awoke to the need of vigorous military preparation. A dispute with this country over our control of trade awakened a general sense of the proximity of the United States to the fighting front. The British navy inevitably had to seize and search neutral vessels which might carry contraband, and the United States, as the largest of the neutral powers, was vitally concerned in preserving open routes to the neutral countries of Europe, and an open market in

Europe for non-contraband goods. Wilson and Grey were both convinced that the future of the world depended on Anglo-American friendship, 'but unless care were taken, a point might be reached beyond which neither could yield.' Page's intense feeling for the British case disturbed Wilson not a little. Colonel House appreciated, as Page did not, the irritation caused in the United States by our holding up of cargoes. The State Department drafted a letter to Page which would have caused one of the greatest panics America had known. House got this withdrawn, and arranged, in concert with the British Ambassador in Washington, dispatches for the Government of the United States to send to Page and to Grey. That intervention tided over the threatened crisis.

House was eagerly considering plans of mediation, though the American Ambassadors both in London and Berlin showed him that both sides were bent on carrying the conflict to a finish. 'Mr. Page sympathized entirely with the popular point of view in England, which at that time saw no way of ending German militarism without annihilating Germany in the political sense. House did not agree, but maintained then and always that German militarism had failed at the battle of the Marne, and that the only sure way to resuscitate it was to threaten the German people with political destruction and force them to accept a military dictatorship.'

House came to London in February 1915, on a quest for peace, but the Germans thought they were winning the war and were not inclined to make concessions. Lord Curzon showed his wisdom in a conversation with House in March. 'I found him the worst Jingo I have met. He wants to make peace in Berlin no matter how long it takes to get there.' House failed to gain his object, but established very cordial relations with Grey and Balfour, whom he learned to trust implicitly. Grey says, 'It was not necessary to spend much time in putting our case to him.

98 WOODROW WILSON'S SILENT PARTNER

He had a way of saying "I know it" in a tone and manner that carried conviction both of his sympathy with, and understanding of, what was said to him.' 'Our conversations became almost at once not only friendly but intimate. I found combined in him in a rare degree the qualities of wisdom and sympathy. In the stress of war it was at once a relief, a delight, and an advantage to be able to talk with him freely.' House often looked in for a talk over affairs in the hour before dinner. He began to find that proposals for peace were useless. 'Germany is not willing to evacuate Belgium at all, nor even France, without an indemnity. The Allies, of course, will not consent to anything less; and there the situation rests.'

The *Lusitania* was torpedoed on May 7, 1915. It now became a question whether America could remain out of the war. Page told the President that he did not think the United States could retain the good opinion of any one if they failed to do so. House himself believed they could not long stand aloof. Both he and Page were distressed by the President's words, 'There is such a thing as being too proud to fight.' Wilson contented himself with demanding an official disavowal and the assurance that inhuman acts of such a kind should not be repeated. That note quieted public feeling, but subsequent German outrages showed that no dependence was to be placed on her pledges. House wrote, 'If war comes with Germany, it will be because of our unpreparedness and her belief that we are more or less impotent to do her harm.' Things looked black for the Allies. On November 2, 1915, Gerard, the American Ambassador in Berlin, thought Germany was winning the war. 'Efforts to starve her out will not succeed. The military are careless of public opinion of neutrals; they say they are winning and do not need good opinion. I am really afraid of war against us after this war—if Germany wins.'

House had a scheme to compel peace, but that also came

to nothing. January 1916 found him again in England in close consultation with the political leaders. Sir Edward Grey and Lord Bryce approved his going to Berlin, but Page thought that would be a mistake. He was bent on Germany's complete defeat. House went on his errand, but soon discovered that the rulers of Germany were in no mood to consider peace terms that would satisfy the Allies. 'Bethman himself, probably one of the most pacific Germans alive, felt that he approached moderation when he suggested giving up the territory conquered by German arms in return for an indemnity.'

The Allies, as Page saw more clearly than House, were determined that German militarism must be put down. There could be no security in Europe as long as that arrogant caste was in power. Meanwhile Page was called to the United States 'to get some American atmosphere into him again,' but he held to his view. He reported that the British resented America's attempt to bring about peace. 'He declares,' says House in recording a two-hour conference, 'none of us understands the situation or the high purposes of the British in this war.'

Colonel House's papers help us to realize the tension of the times. 'If Allied nerves were frazzled and led to errors of judgement, German nerves showed signs of collapse by throwing all judgement to the winds and seeking counsel of desperation. They could not stand the deadlock, which must be ended or broken.' House gave himself to his self-imposed tasks with wonderful devotion. Information from every quarter poured into his little study in New York and made his life transcend any romance in interest and excitement. Another task lay heavy on his shoulders. He put all his electoral genius into securing President Wilson's appointment for a second quadrennium at the White House. That struggle makes an Englishman thankful that his own constitution is based on other lines. But the Colonel pities us. After a conversation with George V, he writes: 'The more

100 WOODROW WILSON'S SILENT PARTNER

I see of the King, the better I like him ; he is a good fellow and deserves a better fate than being a king.' The struggle for the Presidency ended in Wilson's re-election by 277 votes—only eleven more than were necessary. The strain on House had been severe, but he had learned never to worry about matters over which he had no control.

After the election President Wilson's thoughts turned to the European situation. His efforts to open peace negotiations received scant attention from the Allies or from Germany. House got him to eliminate one sentence in the original draft of the Note which he sent to belligerents and neutrals, but he put it back afterwards in modified form and grievously offended the Allies. 'The objects which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own peoples and to the world.' His attempt was a failure. He neither removed the danger of a resumption of German submarine warfare, nor improved the relations of the United States with the belligerents. He was very unfortunate in some of his phrases. House got him to strike out some unhappy sentences, but 'peace without victory' aroused much feeling. The Allies 'felt they were dying for the ideals about which Wilson merely talked.'

Germany made neutrality impossible by resuming the submarine war in February 1917, at the moment when Wilson 'was most eager to work for a peace that meant stalemate.' Even then the President hesitated to go beyond armed neutrality. Events, however, moved quickly. On February 15 the German Ambassador and his staff sailed from New York, and eleven days later Zimmerman's telegram to the German representative in Mexico kindled resentment to a white heat.

Viscount Grey wrote to Page : 'I do not see how the United States can sit still while neutral shipping is swept off the sea. If no action is taken, it will be like a great blot in history, or a failure that must grievously depress the

WOODROW WILSON'S SILENT PARTNER 101

future history of America.' The President found it necessary on April 2, 1917, to ask Congress to declare the existence of a state of war between the United States and Germany, and this tardy action was hailed with an outburst of patriotic enthusiasm.

'It is a fearful thing,' he said, 'to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a compact of free people as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.'

JOHN TELFORD.

Notes and Discussions

THE CALIPHATE CONFERENCE.

SOME months ago King Fuad of Egypt decided to call a conference at his capital to consider the question of the Caliphate, an office generally considered to be in abeyance owing to its abolition in Turkey by the Angora authorities in March 1924. On May 18th this conference assembled at Cairo under the presidency of the Rector of the centre of Islamic learning, the University of Al-Azhar, and delegates were present from Palestine, Iraq, the Hejaz, Nejd, the Yemen, Tripoli, and Tunisia.

This matter is, or ought to be, of great interest to Methodists, mainly on account of the great missionary activities in India—the land where the office of the Caliphate has been most respected and revered—which are such an outstanding contribution of the Wesleyan Church to Christian effort. But the outlook from the point of view of British imperial responsibilities is also of great importance. What, therefore, does this conference mean to the world in general, and to the British Empire in particular?

At the outset it is necessary to go into the history of the Caliphate (Arabic, *Khilāfat*), in order to dissipate a largely prevailing idea that the holder of the office is a sort of Mohammedan Pope, a conception which we largely owe to the misconceptions of Crusaders and Romish priests in mediaeval times. There is no such thing as an ordained priesthood, and there are no sacraments, in orthodox Islam. The Caliph has never pretended to possess powers of infallibility like those claimed by the Roman Pontiff, and has scarcely even ever concerned himself with the interpretation of the fixed and unalterable *Shari'at*, the Islamic Code. This system of laws consists of the Qur'an, the very words of God transmitted through the mouth of His Prophet, and the Hadith (Traditions), a large collection of Mohammed's sayings collected after his death, and more or less properly authenticated by chains of witnesses. The interpretation of these ordinances is a matter for a body of learned persons, known as the 'Ulama, on the lines laid down by one of the five great jurists of Sunni Islam. The most powerful, and therefore the orthodox, school is that of Abu Hanifa, followed by the Turks and Egyptians; and the Caliph, as a follower of the Hanafi tradition, has never arrogated to himself authority to add to or subtract from the decisions of the great jurist.

Mohammed, although he stated that there was to be a '*khalifa*' or 'successor' to him, did not, before his death in A.D. 632, appoint

a suitable person to sit in his place. When that event occurred, however, one of his earliest friends and followers, Abu Bakr, nicknamed 'us-Sadiq,' 'the Truthful,' was elected by popular acclamation. The title he assumed was Khalifa Rasul Illah, 'The Successor of the Apostle of God,' but other titles—Imam ul-Kabir, 'The Great Leader,' and Amir ul-Mu'minin, 'The Commander of the Faithful'—were also bestowed upon him and his successors. But the title Khalifat Ullah, 'Successor of God,' as assumed by later, non-Arab, potentates, was rejected by him as blasphemous, which, literally speaking, it undoubtedly is. The elective succession obtained for the next four Caliphs, Omar, Othman, Ali (the Prophet's son-in-law), and his son Hasan. All these Caliphs except Hasan met their death by murder, as did also Husain, the Prophet's other grandson, at the stricken field of Kerbela, and, on Hasan's abdication in A.D. 661, Mu'awiah bin Abu Sufian, an Arab noble, assumed the Caliphate and founded the Omayyad Dynasty at Damascus. The elective succession ceased, and inheritance took its place, and the Omayyads made the office little more than a political and military leadership, the religious significance being ignored, while they conquered the best part of the then known world.

About A.D. 750 the power was seized by one Abu l-Abbas, founder of the great Abbasid Dynasty of Baghdad, which reached its apogee under the Caliphs Mansur and Harun ur-Rashid. With this era the spiritual aspect of the office was more stressed, but it remained hereditary. At the same time there arose a second Caliphate, that of Cordoba in Spain, which shows that any pontifical view of the office was finished for ever. Following the golden era of Harun ur-Rashid, the Baghdad Caliphate steadily declined, the Caliphs becoming mere effete puppets under the control of Turkish soldiery who had been employed as mercenaries. The final collapse came in A.D. 1258 when Hulagu Khan, the Mongol, sacked Baghdad, massacring, it is said, over a million persons, destroying artistic and literary treasures of untold value, and putting to death the Caliph Mustasim B'Illah by having him tied up in a sack and trampled upon by horses.

But a representative of the Abbasid race had fled to Egypt, and, after a short time, the Mamluke Sultan of that land, Baybars, esteemed it a support to his prestige to establish a Caliph at his capital, Cairo, and so the Abbasid line lingered on in empty and formal state, mere powerless and despised clients of the Mamlukes, although Muslim rulers, even in far India and farther Asia, used to seek their nominal sanction to assumptions of power.

The Ottoman Sultans had already been accustomed to designate themselves 'Khalifa' when Selim I conquered Egypt in A.D. 1517; and it is said, with but little evidence, that that king secured to himself the transference of the title. Here, at least, we have a ruler of purely foreign blood assuming a title which doctors of law had said should be held only by members of the Quraish, the sacred tribe of Mohammed. Despite this, the Ottoman sultans retained the title

from that day until 1922, when their rule was abolished and Turkey became a republic.

Until the latter part of the nineteenth century the Ottoman Caliphate had not been more considered than as *primus inter pares*; for other Caliphates, notably that of the Sultan of Morocco, had existed alongside it, and no political importance was attached to it until Sultan Abd ul-Hamid, the son of an Armenian woman, with the intelligence of that race, saw the enormous value it held as a prop to his tottering throne. That the ignorance of European diplomats allowed them to be bamboozled by the astute Sultan is little to their credit, but ever since that time the Khilafat question has been the rallying-point of pan-Turanian propaganda, and has been held as a pistol at the heads of European Powers, particularly Great Britain owing to its position as the greatest Muslim Power in the world. But, in reality, it was not the possession of the Khilafat which secured the distinctive position of Turkey in the Islamic world, but rather her position as guardian of the Holy Places—Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem—and, these having passed out of her grasp, the possession of the Caliphate became but an empty bauble, if not an active peril.

Surely it is one of the outstanding ironies of history that it was left for the Turks themselves to prick their own Khilafat bubble in March 1924, when Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the Grand National Assembly at Angora abolished the office in Turkey and sent its last, and not least worthy, holder, Abd ul-Mejid Effendi, into an ignominious exile.

In view of the opinions of those who state that the Caliph should be of the Quraish, it is not surprising that the opportunity was seized by King Husain of the Hejaz, who had succeeded the Turks in the guardianship of Mecca and Medina, to announce himself as Caliph, for, as hereditary Sherif of Mecca, he is of the most distinguished blood, being descended from the Prophet through his daughter Fatima, wife of the Caliph Ali, and their son, the Caliph Hasan. But the impossible character and avarice of Husain alienated practically all the sympathy of Islam, and his pretensions received a measure of support in Palestine only. Now he is in exile, and his kingdom has passed away before the fierce puritan fundamentalists of Abd ul-Aziz bin Sa'ud, Sultan of Wahhabi Nejd, who rules in his place and is undoubtedly the greatest personality in Islam to-day.

What candidates are there for the office? And which of them possesses sufficient prestige to hold it? It must be remembered that political influence is the most important ingredient in the qualifications for a candidate to the successorship, for the idea of the Islamic State has never been relinquished. Of the Hanafi (or orthodox) Sunni rulers of to-day, King Faisal of Iraq is of the blood royal, but his kingdom is still in a condition of tutelage, and is, moreover, more than half Shi'ahs, who reject all Caliphs except Ali. King Fuad of Egypt is of Albanian descent, and, although prosperous, his country has little or no influence in the councils of the nations.

The Amir of Afghanistan is in the same position, except that his State is in a hopelessly primitive and reactionary condition and lives under the shadow of invasion by Soviet Russia. Other orthodox personalities, such as the Sherif Ali Haidar, a relation of King Hussain, and ex-King Ali of the Hejaz, may be eligible, but they possess no rulerships.

On the face of it, the conference was a pan-Arab affair, for all the countries mentioned as sending delegates are Arab lands. It is noteworthy also that delegates were included from the two most powerful personalities of Arab Islam, Ibn Sa'ud, who is a Wahhabi, and the Imam Yahia of the Yemen, who is a Shi'ah Zaidi. Both of these rulers are heterodox and inclined to be mutually antagonistic, and it is not likely that either will become candidates for the office, yet the former has the prestige accorded to the guardian of the two chief Holy Places. The whole thing is significant in that it indicates a movement of Arab resurgence.

The Conference, having met, dispersed without coming to any conclusion, merely recording its opinion that any decision at the present moment would not be opportune. This pronouncement doubtless originated from the fact that it was understood that Ibn Sa'ud, Sultan of Nejd and King of the Hejaz, had summoned a Muslim World Conference to assemble in Mecca on June 2, and that the Cairo decision would come very much under review on that occasion. The ostensible purpose of the Mecca Conference was to reach an agreement with reference to the future administration of the Holy Places, but the two questions are so inter-related that it is impossible that one could be considered without the other.

But the Cairo fiasco has another significance. It shows more clearly than ever that the religious, or pontifical, aspect of the Caliphate is of less importance than the political. Had it been otherwise, the subservience of the divines of Al-Azhar, the universal centre of orthodox Islamic lore, to the words and acts of the unorthodox Wahhabi dictator of North and Central Arabia could not have been so marked. Further evidence of this is provided by the recent *fatwa* of the Rector of Al-Azhar, supporting Ibn Sa'ud's new pilgrimage regulations, which include the prohibition of smoking and the reverence of sacred buildings, both practices sanctioned by orthodox usage hitherto.

The list of delegates to the Cairo Conference included representatives of Arab communities only. This is significant, and is without doubt one of the causes of its failure. A leader of the Indian Khilafat Movement, Dr. Ansari, has addressed a letter to the people of Egypt stating that India had been unable to send delegates to the conference because it had not been convened by Ibn Sa'ud. In addition, he proposes the establishment of a sort of Muslim League of Nations. There is a danger that Moscow, in her efforts to off-set the Geneva assembly, would try to capture any such body for its own fell purposes of the destruction of the British Empire and the abolition of religion.

But fears of any such peril could be dismissed if Ibn Sa'ud himself, despite his heterodoxy, could be induced to assume the Caliphate. Of outstanding piety, ability, courage and diplomacy, he has that somewhat rare Arab quality of being a man of his word, and has proved himself a firm friend of Great Britain under considerable strain. He has the prestige of position and the qualities of character for such an office.

Here then, for once, Indian Muslims and British Christians might well see eye to eye. A strong hand controlling Islam and banishing from it many gross superstitions cannot but benefit Christendom, but if it be allowed to become engulfed in the Soviet Slough of Despond, true progress will have suffered an incalculable set-back.

F. W. CHARDIN.

FRIEDRICH LOOFS—AS THEOLOGICAL STUDENT

In a previous number of this REVIEW (July 1908) appreciation was expressed of the article on 'Methodism,' contributed to the third edition of the Hauck-Herzog *Real-Encyclopaedie für Theologie und Kirche* by Dr. Friedrich Loofs, Professor of Church History in the University of Halle. Of that article Dr. J. Alfred Faulkner says: 'Professor Loofs, in his masterly and exhaustive presentation of Methodism, claims that Methodism has no special doctrinal differences from the general Reformed Protestantism, and he characterizes as "perfectly foolish" the objection that Methodism, in the interest of a pietistic mysticism, pushes into the background the objective fact of salvation so dear to Lutherans.' (*A New History of Methodism*, ii. 395.)

Dr. Loofs was born in 1858, and was appointed an unsalaried lecturer (*privatdozent*) in the University of Leipzig in 1882; in 1887 he was transferred to Halle. After an unbroken period of thirty-nine years of service in the same University, he has recently (April 1926) retired from a position which he has filled with conspicuous ability and whole-hearted devotion. A staunch Lutheran, he has made students of other confessions and of many countries his debtors by reason of his scholarly researches. The influence of his teaching is felt to-day in many lecture-rooms, and his writings are treasured by the universal Church.

An enterprising firm of publishers persuaded Dr. Loofs to supply an account of his career and work. It appears in a remarkable series of *Selbstdarstellungen*¹ (self-delineations). The *Selbstdarstellung* is, however, not an autobiography. The suggestion has been made that the best rendering of the word would be a new compound: auto-ergo-graphy, for what is desired in a *Selbstdarstellung* is a personal statement of the writer's life-work, including his life-aims. Such a statement should be not only objective, enumerating facts, but also subjective, revealing temperament, outlook on life, attitude towards

¹ *Die Religionswissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen*. Band II. Rm. 12. (Leipzig, Felix Meiner.)

its problems, &c. A criticism of the volumes that have already appeared testifies that 'invariably the subjective element has been kept on the right side of the line beyond which self-consciousness becomes self-admiration and self-valuation becomes vanity.' The *Selbstdarstellung* of Dr. Loofs keeps well within these limits, for when referring to his own contributions to theology and history he often underestimates their significance.

Most interesting and instructive are the reminiscences which Dr. Loofs gives of his early life, especially of his University course. In his case the student 'shows the man as morning shows the day.' Much may be learnt of his spirit and of the inmost thoughts of his heart which the writings of the erudite scholar do not reveal. To anticipate—the Leipzig student was, in all essentials of mind and heart, the Halle professor.

In the account of his ancestry Dr. Loofs pays a gracious tribute to his parents. He recalls serious theological arguments with his father, who was 'an earnest preacher of the Melanchthonian-Lutheran doctrine of faith,' and he confesses that in his student days he was an 'animal *disputax*.' But no differences of opinion affected the religious fellowship of father and son. The son records modestly: 'My father was always glad to see me in his pulpit during my vacations.' His mother lived in his house from her eighty-first to her eighty-eighth year. With a homely touch the *Grossmutterstube* is described as a gladsome room to her children, grandchildren, and friends, the reason being that the dear grandmother herself was 'an incarnation of good Lutheran Christianity.'

Friedrich Loofs, in his nineteenth year, was disqualified for military service owing to short-sightedness. He became at once a theological student at Leipzig. Adolf Harnack, seven years his senior, was beginning his distinguished career; with him, as assistant professor (*extra-ordinarius*), Loofs read the Epistles of Ignatius, and was 'fascinated.' Harnack also lectured on 'The Apocalypse,' and on 'The Oecumenical Symbols'; in addition, he discussed, in private, with a small group of kindred spirits, 'The Apology of Justin Martyr,' 'The relation of Christianity to the Graeco-Roman world,' and—most important of all—Ritschl's 'Lectures (*Unterricht*) on the Christian religion.' At these Wednesday evening gatherings (*Mittwochsgesellschaft*) there met for frank discussion Wilhelm Bornemann, Martin Rade, Friedrich Loofs, Karl Marti, Gottlob Haussleiter, and others who became men of leading. 'There was no drinking, only earnest debating.' For this group Loofs prepared his 'first, very comprehensive, scientific treatise,' the subject being 'The Papias fragments.'

At this period Loofs cherished the desire of becoming a preacher and pastor rather than a professor. But some of his fellow students attended Harnack's lectures on the 'History of Dogma,' and were greatly impressed. Loofs borrowed the excellent notes taken by his friend Rade, and during the vacation copied and studied them. 'No lectures that I attended were as important for me as these

which I did not hear.' They were his introduction to a subject which became one of his main themes : 'The relation of the ecclesiastical doctrine of the Trinity to the faith of the Early Church.' To him, however, the problem was not merely a scientific one. He writes home : 'If I could but truly pray "Lord, I believe ; help thou mine unbelief" ; and yet how often have I felt in my heart the burning of the Emmaus disciples. It is my chief wish to preach the Gospel on Easter day.' This sympathetic student of Wesley, whose heart was 'strangely warmed,' had a like experience. The wish was fulfilled ; Friedrich Loofs preached his first sermon, read and approved by his father, during Eastertide 1878. It is fitting here to mention that the influence of Professor Loofs at Halle was greatly increased by his earnest, incisive preaching from the University pulpit. His students have borne emphatic witness to its abiding effect on their spiritual life. Several volumes of his *Predigten* have been published ; many of them are of permanent value and well deserve translation into English.

From Leipzig Loofs went to Tübingen, being attracted partly by the situation of the town, desiring to change smoky Leipzig for God's beautiful nature, and partly by the fame of Professor J. T. Beck. Though he did not become 'a Beckite,' he received from this evangelical teacher impressions which greatly influenced his religious life. Grateful mention is made of occasional attendance, during this period, at Sunday services conducted by Michelians¹ in a neighbouring village : 'With great respect I think of the peasant whom I used to hear expounding the Word.' Loofs finished his academic training at Göttingen, and attended Ritschl's lectures on 'Dogmatics, Ethics, Symbolics, and the Catholic Epistles.' Special importance is attached to the private meetings of a little group in the Professor's room. Calvin's *Institutes* and Herrmann's new book on *Religion* are mentioned as amongst the subjects of study. For this circle Loofs prepared a paper on Theodore Häring's *Christology*, on which subject, he says, 'there was a lively debate between Ritschl and myself.' It was, however, Ritschl who laid it upon him to enter upon an academic career. With characteristic modesty he received the suggestion : 'I knew my limitations. I recognized that it was not in my power to produce creative ideas,' &c. Harnack's advice was in accord with Ritschl's, and in 1882 Loofs presented his Latin dissertation to the theological faculty of Leipzig University, in a discussion conducted in Latin, with four professors defending his thesis, and became, at twenty-four years of age, a 'licentiate' teacher in the University. In 1884 he paid his first visit to England, to study Irenaeus manuscripts in London and Cheltenham.

Happily it is not the time to attempt an estimate of the multifarious results of forty-two years of professorial labour, and for the discharge of that task the present writer recognizes his inability. It will be welcome news to many that Dr. Loofs proposes to spend the

¹ Called after their founder Johann Michael Hann (1758-1819) ; they shared with Swabian Pietists pre-millennial views.

first three years of his retirement in revising and enlarging his *History of Dogma*, the fourth edition of which appeared in 1906. Only the first volume of his *Symbolics* has been published; volume two will deal with Protestant Confessions, and is far from ready for the press. But encyclopaedia articles furnish material for a volume twice the size of volume one. To friends who expressed the wish that Dr. Loofs might retain his intellectual vigour until he was four-score years of age, he replied that 'old wood is rigid, dry, and hard.' He himself has given a powerful answer in the negative to the question: 'Is the Gospel of the Reformation antiquated?' His friends would with equal emphasis, deny that his defence of that gospel is becoming antiquated. An old tree differs from old wood, inasmuch as it may 'still bring forth fruit.'

J. G. TASKER.

THE SIBYL OF CUMAE

AMONG the many excavations that are being made in various parts of the world at the present moment, few can be of more interest to the student of ancient history than the work on the Grotto of the Sibyl by the Lake of Avernus, not far from Naples. One of the most familiar of the stories of old Rome is that which tells of a visit paid by the Cumæan Sibyl to the Court of Tarquin Superbus, some hundreds of years before the Christian era. The Sibyl, so runs the legend, brought with her nine books filled with her predictions and offered them to Tarquin for three hundred pieces of gold. He refused to buy them, and, leaving the Court, she burned three of the books, then, returning with six, offered them to him for the same sum. Again he refused, and, once more burning three, she came to him with the three that remained and offered them for the sum that she had asked for the whole of the nine volumes. Convinced at last that these prophecies must be of inestimable value, he gave her the money, and caused the three books to be laid up in his treasure-house, that they might be consulted by the authorities in times of national danger and distress.

This Sibyl, or prophetess, was said to have her dwelling in a huge cave, known as the Temple of Apollo, which was situated near the city of Cumæ. The traveller of to-day, as he stands by the Lake of Avernus, may find it hard to believe that this solitary spot was once the site of a splendid city, rich and flourishing, with not less than 60,000 inhabitants. Close to the coast, wealthy merchants made it a centre for trade, export, and import, and its baths brought invalids and other visitors to it from far-distant provinces.

To these many visitors the presence of the Sibyl was an immense attraction, for she was credited with the power, not only of predicting the future, but of solving any problems that might be presented to her. The legend ran that Apollo had granted her as many years of life as she could hold grains of sand in the palm of her hand, and she was computed to be about seven hundred years old when

Aeneas had the interview with her which is so wonderfully described by Virgil in the Sixth Book of the Aeneid :

Now great Aeneas seeks the rocky height
And temple, to the god Apollo dear,
And the vast cave, where, hidden far from sight
Within her sanctuary dark and drear,
Dwells the dread Sibyl, whom the Delian Seer
Inspires with soul and wisdom to unfold
The things to come. So now, approaching near
Through Trivia's grove, the temple they behold,
And, entering, see the roof all glittering with gold.

A description of the temple follows, with all its wonders :

Into the lofty temple now with speed—
A huge cave hollowed in the mountain-side—
The priestess calls the travellers. Thither lead
A hundred doors, a hundred entries wide,
A hundred voices from the rock inside
Peal forth, the Sibyl answering. So they
Had reached the inner threshold, when she cried,
'Now 'tis the time to seek the Fates and pray;
Behold, behold the god!' and standing there straightway

Her colour and her features change; loose streams
Her hair disordered, and her heart distrest
Swells with wild frenzy. Larger now she seems,
Her voice not mortal, as her heaving breast
Pants with the approaching deity posset.
'Pray, Trojan!' peals her warning utterance, 'pray!
Cease not, Aeneas, nor withhold thy quest,
Nor stint thy vows. While dumbly ye delay,
Ne'er shall its yawning doors the spellbound house display.'

An old-world story, scarcely to be believed in this practical and enlightened age ! But the excavations that are now being carried out show that there was an underground way between the cave and the sea, and that there are various openings in the wall of rock that probably produced the awe-inspiring sounds that were known as the Hundred Voices. There can be little doubt that it was used as a temple in ancient times, and that the so-called oracles were delivered from it by priestesses dedicated to Apollo. The fabled age of the Sibyl is easily accounted for by the secrecy that was an essential part of such worship ; when a sibyl died her body could be hidden in the rock, while a fresh one officiated in her place, no one but the members of the sacred cult being any the wiser.

Belief in the existence of the Sibyl of Cumæ lasted well into the Christian era, and not only so, but the Emperor Constantine, St. Augustine, and many others, believed that those utterances of Virgil which were said to be prophetic of the coming of Christ to earth had been committed to him by her. St. Augustine even states in his *City of God* that the Sibyl herself wrote prophecies of Christ 'in rough Latin verses which we have read.'

There is preserved in the Bodleian Library a copy of the *City of God* edited by John Healey early in the sixteenth century, in which

the verses that St. Augustine speaks of are thus translated—the initials of the lines form an acrostic :

I n signe of Doomsday the whole earth shall sweat ;
 E ver to reigne, a King in heavenly seate,
 S hall to come to joue all flesh, the faithfull and
 U nfaithfull too, before this God shall stand,
 S eeing Him high with saints, in Time's last end,
 C orporeall shall He sit, and thence extend
 H is doome on soules. The earth shall quite lye waast,
 R uined, o'ergrown with thornes, and men shall cast
 I dols away and treasures. Scorching fire
 S hall burne the ground, and thence it shall inquire
 T hrough seas and skie and breake hell's blackest gates ;
 S o shall free light salute the blessed states
 O f saints ; the guilty, lasting flame shall burne.
 N o act so hid but then to light shall turne ;
 N or breast so close but God shall open wide.
 E achwhere shall cries be heard and noyze beside
 O f gnashing teeth. The sunne shall from the skie
 F ly forth, and stormes no more moue orderly.
 G reat Heauen shall bee dissolued, the moon deprived
 O f all her light ; places at height arriu'd
 D eprest, and valleys raised to their seate ;
 T here shall bee nought to mortals, high or great.
 H ills shall lye leuell with the plaines, the sea
 E ndure no burden ; and the earth, as they
 S hall perish cleft with lightning ; every Spring
 A nd Riuver burne. The fatall Trumpe shall ring
 U nto the world, from heauen, a dismal blast
 I ncluding plagues to come for ill deeds past ;
 O ld Chaos tho' the cleft mass shall bee seene,
 U nto this Barre shall all earth's Kings conuenue,
 R iuers of fire and brimstone flowing from heauen.

Ludovico Vives, the Spanish scholar who came to England to study and was elected Fellow of Corpus Christi, Oxford, in 1517, added notes to this edition of the *City of God*, and in them he discusses the question of the Sibyl's identity : ' Some said it was Sibylla Cumana, as Virgil does, calling her Deiphobe, daughter to Glaucus, who was a prophet and taught Apollo the art. Her chapell was to be seen at Cumae ; but Varro thinketh it unlikely that the sibyl that Aeneas talked with should live unto the fifth King of Rome's time, and therefore he thinketh that it was Erythraea that sung the Roman's destinies.'

Vives goes on to expound the verses in a delightfully quaint style : ' There is no greater plague than to be under him that is blowne big with the conceit of greatness. He groweth rich and consequently proud ; he thinks he may domineere—his father was ! ay marry was he ! his pedigree is always in his mouth, and (very likely) a Theefe, a butcher, or a swine-herd in the front of this his noble descent. Another Tarre-lubber bragges that he is a Soldier, an aid unto the State in affairs military, therefore will he reare and teare down whole cities before him (if any leave their owne seates and come into his way, or to take the wall of him, not else !)'.

Vives evidently did not appreciate the prophecy that all men would one day be equal, nor does he take so high a view of the Sibyl

herself as the Emperor Constantine did, when, in his oration to the Assembly of the Faithful, he quoted the verses and pointed out that the acrostic formed by their initials was a distinct prediction of the coming of Christ.

Whether the verses are authentic or not, the belief in them was widespread, and a curious instance of this may be found in the old Latin hymn *Dies Irae*, where the testimony of the Sibyl to Christ is mentioned with that of David :

Teste David cum Sibylla.

In an old Latin mystery play of the eleventh century, among the witnesses who are summoned to give evidence of the Nativity appear Virgil and the Sibyl, who join in a *Benedicamus Domino*, showing that she was still looked upon as an unconscious prophet of Christ.

The Sibyl, to us in the present day, is no more to be believed in than the sirens who sang men to their doom off that same rocky coast; or the centaurs who roamed the fields, terrifying all beholders with their human heads and equine bodies. But that the cave on the shores of Avernus was really a temple where priestesses of Apollo thrilled inquiring worshippers with awe and dread as they gave voice to the dark oracles of the god, there can be little doubt, and when the secret passage is fully excavated and the cavern cleared, pilgrims will throng once more through the beautiful land that Virgil loved, to visit the dwelling of the Sibyl of Cumae.

MARY BRADFORD WHITING.

A short impression of the Conference of August, 1925, at Stockholm, from the skilled hand of the Rev. Edward Shillito, is given in *Life and Work* (Longmans). A thousand speeches, one hundred and seventy of which were 'prepared,' were delivered at the Conference, so that the task of compressing the proceedings into 104 pages has been no light one. We first see the procession of delegates to the Cathedral, then the proceedings are set forth under such headings as Alpha and Omega, Economics and Industry, The Right to Salvation, Alcohol, The Security of the World, and Handing on the Community Life. The Conference was the most signal instance of fellowship and co-operation that the world has seen, and this epitome of its work shows how rich it was in inspiration for Christian thinkers and workers.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

The Idea of Faith in Christian Literature. By W. P. Hatch, D.D. (H. Milford. 6s. 6d. net.)

Few questions in religion stand more in need of a fresh and clear answer to-day than, What is the meaning and the real basis of Christian faith? We are glad to notice that it is receiving attention from various writers in current periodical literature, and would commend to all whom it may concern the scholarly treatise before us. Dr. W. P. Hatch is a Professor in the Episcopal Theological School of Cambridge (Mass.), and he has already published a volume on the *Pauline Idea of Faith*. His present survey extends only from the death of St. Paul to the end of the second century, but it includes several New Testament writers as well as the apostolic Fathers and the earlier Greek apologists. His method is that of biblical theology, and the material that he has collected with care will prove of service to students of the New Testament. Dr. Hatch does not profess to draw theological conclusions from his survey, and his exposition stops short just where the real inquiry into the meaning of a passage might be expected to begin. But, as there is a time to build, so there is a time to gather stones together for the purpose of building, and this latter task the author has performed with diligence and efficiency.

Even superficial readers of the New Testament must perceive that the word 'faith,' as used by apostolic writers, covers a wide area of meaning; that the definition—if it be a definition—given in Heb. xi. 1 differs very considerably from the 'saving faith' of the Epistle to the Romans. A closer study reveals the genesis of the idea of the disciples' faith in the earthly ministry of Jesus, and enables us to trace a noteworthy development through successive stages before the close of the New Testament Canon. Dr. Hatch briefly sketches the idea of faith as it is revealed in the mind and life of our Lord Himself, and points out that in the Pauline use of the word there is both a Hebraic and a Hellenistic element. He goes so far as to call these 'radically different strains,' contrasting belief in the existence of God and convictions concerning Him on the one hand, and on the other, a devout and trustful attitude towards a living God, which forms the very heart of Hebrew piety. Dr. Hatch distinguishes between four senses of the word *πίστις*—(a) belief or conviction, (b) trust, (c) faith, and (d) faithfulness. The first of these is intellectual only; the second indicates an attitude

of heart and soul rather than of mind, while the last is a derivative meaning, found only in a few passages. The real difficulty lies in distinguishing the various shades of meaning included under (c). In the main it implies a mystical union with God in Christ, such as came to prevail in the later usage of the word.

But in truth these meanings often melt gradually into one another, and sharp lines of distinction become impossible. It is a disadvantage also that the Pauline use of *πίστις* should be discussed separately in another volume. The distinction, however, is clear enough between the life of faith in the Son of God, 'who loved me and gave Himself up for me,' described in Gal. ii. 20, and the active principle which looks to things unseen and nerves men to the achievement of heroic deeds, as described at length in Heb. xi. The author also finds no difficulty in showing that St. James, in his discussion of faith and works, has a different problem before him from that with which St. Paul was occupied in dealing with the same subject. Paul deals with 'dead works' and James with 'dead faith.' Both of them knew well the meaning of vital religion and the faith which works by love. Many readers will hesitate to accept Dr. Hatch's statement that in the Fourth Gospel 'faith is primarily belief rather than trust,' that 'in it the intellectual rather than the religious element predominates.' Of the well-known fact that the verb *πιστεύειν* occurs a hundred times in the Fourth Gospel, but the substantive *πίστις* not once, Dr. Hatch offers no explanation, but contents himself by saying that it is 'noteworthy.'

It is, however, quite impossible to follow the author into the fascinating, but often doubtful, details of his exegesis. His discussion of Clement, Ignatius, Justin, Irenaeus, and other writers of the second century is interesting, though the problems which arise are for the most part the same as those which present themselves in the Canonical Epistles. But the whole discussion as conducted by our author is full of interest, stimulating to inquiry rather than satisfying it. In his closing pages Dr. Hatch appears to lay stress upon faith as trust in God or Christ as the guiding principle of Christian life, rather than the conclusion of reason, which is 'too weak and uncertain to be followed with confidence in such high matters.' Faith, as trust, he says, 'enables one to live at one's best, and it may well be that by living at one's best one may gradually come to understand the meaning of things better than in any other way.' But that is, as the author well knows, far from being an adequate description of the faith of the New Testament.

Behind the Third Gospel : A Study of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis. By Vincent Taylor, Ph.D., D.D. (Clarendon Press. 12s. 6d. net.)

The investigation into the sources and composition of the four Canonical Gospels proceeds apace. It seems but a short time since the publication in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* of Dr. E. Abbott's

article 'Gospels' made so much commotion, and started a new era for many students of the New Testament in this country. But from this point to the publication last year of Canon Streeter's *The Four Gospels* what a long journey of research has been undertaken, opening up wide and unexpected landscapes, and revealing untrodden regions to the explorer of sacred origins in his study of the holiest records of religion! The latest stage of all was inaugurated by Canon Streeter's article in the *Hibbert Journal* in 1921, in which he advanced what has come to be known as the 'Proto-Luke Hypothesis.' Dr. Vincent Taylor, in the scholarly volume before us, has subjected what was originally only a bold suggestion to a careful examination, and has gone far to verify it as a scientific theory, better fitting the facts than the bare 'Two Document Theory' in its generally-accepted form. He claims to have established the existence of a non-Marcan source, on which the author of the Third Gospel chiefly based his composition, and thus to have made 'a positive addition to Synoptic source-criticism, and thus to our knowledge of Christ and His teaching.'

The account which Dr. Taylor gives of his methods and principles of investigation is very instructive. After describing the previous history of source-criticism in relation to the Third Gospel, and the valuable work done by such scholars as Weiss, Burkitt, Hawkins, Sanday, and Streeter, he points out the reasons why the prevalent theory of the composition of the Third Gospel—according to which the framework is supplied by St. Mark, material from Q and elsewhere being inserted into this foundation—is unsatisfactory. He then sketches out the principles by means of which the question of sources is to be determined—the *usus loquendi*, the distribution of common words, the order of narratives, the inherent harmony of passages with their context, and other tests are to be applied. The work is delicate and difficult, and of necessity largely subjective. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Higher Criticism in this part of its work has often been suspected and distrusted. It must be remembered, however, that the evidences are cumulative in their character, subjective and objective elements being freely blended and sifted before even a tentative conclusion is arrived at.

It would be out of place here to attempt to enter into details. Suffice it to say that Dr. Taylor has made out an excellent *prima-facie* case for his view, which is similar to, though not precisely identical with, Canon Streeter's fuller statement of his position in his published volume. Dr. Taylor has very ably developed and confirmed Streeter's suggestions, and, if his arguments are generally accepted by critics as satisfactory, his contribution to an important discussion will be acknowledged as one of great and permanent value.

Many readers are very impatient of all these critical processes as applied to the sacred records of our Lord's life; some would pronounce them speculative and useless, others would ban them as altogether mischievous. We quite agree, however, with Dr. Taylor's estimate of the value of such inquiries when made by critics who possess the

combination of scholarly ability with a devout and reverent spirit which marks his own work. Very few are fitted to carry out with success such investigations as this volume contains. We heartily congratulate him on the accomplishment of the task which has occupied him for some years, and the light which he has been able to throw upon the composition of the Third Gospel. The results, if the theory which he has worked out from the hints of Dr. Streeter should be accepted, will be of the first importance in the departments of history, of theology, and of Biblical Criticism. And in any case Dr. Taylor has in this volume furnished an admirable example of the spirit in which source-criticism of books so sacred as the Four Gospels should be conducted, and of the value of scholarly and patient investigation into the nature of the records upon which is based the Christian faith that has overcome the world.

The Passing and the Permanent in St. Paul. By H. Bullock, M.A., B.D. (Macmillan & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

These 'Studies in Pauline origins, development, and values' are of especial interest and value. Mr. Bullock thinks that 'the vessel of Paul's theological thought-forms must be broken before to-day's world can be filled with the odour of the ointment ; but, this done, what remains ? The great truths of the moral and spiritual supremacy of our Lord ; of a renewed life realized in following His example and teaching ; more than this—our lives are hidden with Christ in God ; our largest self lies in the wealth of the Oversoul ; Christ is still known to the pure in heart.' Mr. Bullock finds a striking common feature between 'our Lord's teaching of goodness as proceeding from an inward attitude of heart and Paul's central ethical teaching of justification by faith rather than by mere works.' Paul retained his Jewish instincts to the end, yet he showed himself able to challenge such a deeply-set Jewish institution as circumcision, and revealed a free and original mind even in giving a new Christian interpretation to Rabbinical speculation. Even in his Tarsus days he must have felt the influence of Stoicism and of the Gentile world. If he accepted some suggestions from the mysteries he 'transformed their nature, and changed their meaning from physical and psychical to spiritual and ethical.' The section on Paul's doctrine of revelation will have to be received with caution. His central doctrine is that of salvation. His own experience of union with Christ, which had made all things new to him, underlay his teaching. 'He had opened out a spring of inspiration within his own personality. He had found a spiritual "Life Urge" which pressed him forth to a life of righteous action and service.' His central theme and concern is Christian character. This prophetic element lies at the heart of his Gospel, as it did at the heart of his Master's.

Religious Experience : Its Nature and Truth. By Kenneth Edward, M.A., D.Phil. (T. & T. Clark. 8s.) These are the Kerr Lectures for 1928, which pay high tribute to Professor Waterhouse's *Philosophy*

of *Christian Experience* as 'a work which must be read by every serious student of the subject.' Dr. Edward regards religious experience as a comprehensive term for the whole field of personal religion, including the belief and the behaviour as well as the feelings which are their accompaniment. That definition covers religion at all stages of development, 'without encouraging any attempt to explain the higher in terms of the lower, for it gives scope for an ever-developing conception of God, and of the sort of relationship with Him which His worshippers will seek and find.' Dr. Edward shows that our existence is emotional through and through. To read human life in terms of intellect alone is to do it violence. The emotional element cannot be isolated from other elements in religion. Dr. Otto's *Das Heilige* brings out the 'cognitive or revelatory aspect' in religious feeling which marks the passage from a vague awareness to all the riches of the higher spiritual life in which the religious experience of man has culminated. Through worship, human life has expanded. There is no attitude which has so ennobled him. The other lectures deal with the influence of suggestion, the fallacy of psychologism, religious knowledge and experience, and the task of theology. Experience presses forward to its intellectual expression, and displays an irrepressible impulse to seek a reasonable faith. The lectures are full of clear thinking, and are expressed in a way that makes it a pleasure to study them.—*The Christian Experience*. By C. Ryder Smith, D.D. (Epworth Press. 6s. net.) This study in the Theology of Fellowship deals with one of the principal phenomena of the Christian faith. Its object is to show that the phenomena of the Christian experience harmonize with other psychological phenomena, and can neither be accepted nor denied alone. The Christian experience is described under such terms as faith, grace, the saint, and the perfect. Its implicates as to God and man are then drawn out, and the validity of the experience is considered in an appendix. It is a carefully-reasoned view of a subject which grows more significant and vital with the progress of Christian thought, and Dr. Smith carries the student with him step by step.

The Platonic Tradition in English Religious Thought. By W. R. Inge, C.V.O., D.D. (Longmans & Co. 4s. net.) The Dean of St. Paul's has published his Hulsean Lectures in the form in which they were delivered, without notes or amplifications. He claims that the history of Christian Platonism, and the fruits which it has borne, justify its recognition as a legitimate and independent type of Christian theology and practice by the side of the great types usually called Catholic and Protestant. It came to life again at the Renaissance, but really reaches back to the Greek Fathers, to St. Paul and St. John, and farther back still. Its characteristics are a spiritual religion, an entirely open mind to the discoveries of science, a reverent and receptive attitude to the beauty, sublimity, and wisdom of the creation, as a revelation of the mind and character of the Creator, and a complete indifference to the current valuations of the worldling.

'The Christian element is supplied mainly by the identification of the inner light with the spirit of the living, glorified, indwelling Christ.' The dean thinks that in such a presentation of Christianity lies our hope for the future. He describes the three periods when there was a fruitful return in the Church to 'her old loving nurse, the Platonic philosophy.' The first was the Renaissance period, including the Cambridge Platonists; the second was that of Wordsworth, 'the greatest born Platonist, perhaps, that our country has produced'; the third was the Victorian age and the generation which followed it. Dr. Inge quotes the Cambridge Platonists, whose tone and language seem strangely modern, and then brings out the Platonism of Wordsworth by many striking passages from his poems. In the last lecture the resemblances between Ruskin and Plato are emphasized, and light is thrown on Westcott's love of Platonic theology. 'The true apostolical succession, in the lives of the saints, has never failed, and never will,' but ecclesiasticism has been, from the highest point of view, a dismal failure. The centre of gravity in religion has shifted from authority to experience. The type of religion which Dean Inge is considering 'rests the whole weight of its conviction on the testimony of the Holy Spirit, and maintains that this is sufficient.' The lectures are full of suggestion, and it is a real pleasure to read them.

Foundations of Faith: III. Ecclesiological. By W. E. Orchard, D.D. (Allen & Unwin. 5s. net.) The chapters of Dr. Orchard's third volume on *Foundations of Faith* have already appeared as monthly tracts, and those on 'The Catholic Church' and 'The Eucharist' have met with keen criticism. At that no one can wonder, and the chapter on 'The Sacramental System,' with its discussion of baptism, may be included among the High Church features of the book. Dr. Orchard puts his views clearly and persuasively, but he does not carry conviction to our minds, though we readily acknowledge the deep spiritual feeling which lies behind his statements. He holds that it is 'by the faith, and into the faith, of the Church that the baptized child is received, and it is in answer, therefore, to the prayers of the Church that the child is given that grace which makes possible the attainment of supernatural life.' As to the Eucharist, he says, 'We may well hope that the Mass will one day be discovered by all Christians to be the one thing that matters, the Catholic Celebration the point at which unity will be found, and the doctrine of Transubstantiation the basis of a sacramental philosophy which illuminates many mysteries, the one foundation on which a truly corporate life can be built, the centre from which all our efforts at social reconstruction will be truly inspired.' We regard such teaching with grave suspicion, but we can see in it a protest against the loose and low views on these subjects which are held in some circles. The closing chapter on 'The Church and Humanity' appeals to Rome dogmatically to disavow any further recourse to persecution, and thus hasten the spread of faith and the progress of humanity. It does not look as though

Rome was using the key to open the doors of the Church as wide as possible to needy and seeking humanity.

The Great Partnership: God and Man. By J. A. MacCallum. (George H. Doran Co. \$2 net.) The writer is pastor of Walnut Street Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, and is one of the ablest American theologians. He feels that the greatest task of the Christian Church is to stimulate in men the consciousness of God. 'We need a larger God than our fathers, because we live in an infinitely larger world.' He divides his study into four sections: The Ground of Relativity, which includes God's need of man, man's need of God, God's faith in man; God in Action, as Creator, Sovereign, Father, &c.; God in Attribute, as Love, Mercy, Grace, &c.; God in Essence, as Life, Power, &c. The great truths of religion are put into simple language and aptly illustrated from religious history. Wesley 'preached with irresistible power the gospel of free salvation, and thousands, as they listened, believed and were lifted out of their degradation, gaining a sense of worth they had never felt before, and rising from the squalor of misery and vice to virtuous self-respect.' It is an inspiring book, both for Churches and individuals.

Great Tasks and Great Inspirations. By F. Theodore Woods, D.D., Lord Bishop of Winchester. (Nisbet & Co. 5s. net.) These sermons and addresses deal with the great tasks which confront the English Church to-day. There is 'a certain exhilaration in facing them, and in believing that if the Divine Society in this twentieth century is set to do the impossible, and thereby thrown back upon God, that precisely has been its experience since it first confronted the world nineteen hundred years ago.' The sermon preached at Stockholm faces the task of setting up the Kingdom of God in our complicated civilization. 'Standing Aloof' is a call to take our stand by Christ; 'Christianity and Communism' was preached before the Church Congress at Eastbourne; 'The Rebuilding of Civilization' was delivered at the opening of Copac. There is a fine sermon to organists, a tribute to Kingsley, and an Easter sermon on 'The Energy of God.' There is breadth of sympathy and vision in them all. Despite the claims of a vast diocese, the bishop finds time to read and think, and knows how to stir up others to thought and action.

The Faith of an English Catholic, by Darwell Stone, D.D. (Longmans & Co., 4s. net), seeks to show what Anglo-Catholics have in common, and wherein they differ; how they are related to the Tractarians, to the Church of England, and to the Catholic Church throughout the world. The teaching as to the Mass, the reserved Sacrament, Our Lady, and the Saints, is brought out in successive chapters. Dr. Stone says the Sacraments 'fit into a whole method of belief and life. For the Catholic religion is not a series of doctrines and maxims and rites which are separable from and independent of each other.' The Anglo-Catholics have been charged with being self-centred, little concerned about social evils or missionary service.

Much, however, has been done of late 'to promote converting and spiritual movements.' Those who wish to see what Anglo-Catholicism stands for will find this an instructive guide.

Christianity and Universal Peace. By A. W. Harrison, M.C., B.Sc., D.D. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d. net.) The teaching of the New Testament on peace and the view held in early Christian circles is clearly brought out in two opening chapters, and is followed by studies of the views of Manichaeans, Lollards, Anabaptists, and other sects. A chapter is given to Tolstoi, and the conclusion is reached that our Lord did not legislate on the subject, but inspired His followers to face the world's evils in a new spirit. The conscience of the race has made marvellous progress in regarding war as an anachronism, and there is good hope for the future. All who write or speak on the subject will find much valuable guidance in this volume.—*The Lord's Prayer and the Sacraments.* By Percy Dearmer, D.D. (Cambridge : Heffers. 4s. net.) This fifth volume completes Dr. Dearmer's *Lessons on the Way*. It begins with 'The Grace of God,' and devotes its early lessons to prayer and the Lord's Prayer. The later lessons are on the Sacramental Principle, Baptism, Confirmation, and the Lord's Supper. Every lesson is full of spiritual insight, and is put in such a way as to provoke thought and to remove difficulties from the mind of young students. The boy who prayed that the birds might escape the traps and then went and kicked the traps to pieces, teaches that it is not enough to ask God to do things if we do not try to do them ourselves. The lessons are brightly suggestive from first to last.—*Certainty and Christian Faith.* By F. Platt, D.D. (Epworth Press. 1s. net.) The strong foundations of personal religious faith are here clearly described, and their cumulative authority is shown to culminate in the primacy of Christ as the supreme religious certainty. It is the work of a master in theology who knows how to light up a great subject for thoughtful inquirers.—*The Religious Difficulties of Youth.* By A. D. Belden, B.D. (Sampson Low & Co. 3s. 6d. net.) The writer has given special attention to the seekings and questionings of young people, and his object, as his friend Dr. Berry puts it, is 'to commend the faith of the centuries to the mind and heart of youth.' He deals with such subjects as Nature and God, the Trinity, The Supremacy of Jesus, The Problem of Suffering, Is there a Future Life? The chapters make pleasant reading, and throw light on problems which perplex many young thinkers. The second part of the book, headed 'Inspiration,' begins with Christ as the Master of Joy, and makes its own appeal to young minds. The book is both fresh and timely. It will bear good fruit.—*Penitence, Pardon, and Progress.* By the Right Rev. Lucius Smith, D.D. (Skeffington & Son. 3s. 6d. net.) These three courses of sermons by the Bishop of Knaresborough deal with six penitents of the Gospels, nine steps of Christian progress, and six features of the Church Catechism. They were written to crystallize the bishop's thoughts for extempore delivery, and are really suggestive and intensely practical.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

The Cambridge Mediaeval History. Volume V. Contests of Empire and Papacy. (Cambridge University Press. 50s. net.)

THIS volume covers more than 1,050 pages, and the three editors have been able to secure the help of the foremost historical students in the preparation of its twenty-three chapters. Their mastery of their special subjects is seen in the ease and clearness with which they present stores of recondite knowledge. The book is really pleasant reading about the century and a half from 1050 to 1200, when the disorganization and anarchy of the ninth century had hardly been made good. It is a period of new movements and new ideas—the appearance of new monastic orders, a renaissance of thought and learning, the rise of towns, and the expansion of commerce; and also a period marked by the organization of the monarchical government of the Church, the development of monarchical institutions in Europe, and the revived study of Civil and Canon Law. We see Europe divided by the conflict between Empire and Papacy, and united by the Crusades in the holy war against the infidel. Professor Whitney contributes the opening chapter on 'The Reform of the Church.' Everywhere there were deep corruptions and varied abuses which, on a first survey, seem almost unrelieved by any gleams of spiritual light. Yet there were many men of piety and self-devotion of whom we catch glimpses in this survey. Alexander II, who died in 1073, left his successors a working model of a conscientious, world-embracing Papacy. Mr. Brooke, one of the editors, describes the first contest between Empire and Papacy under Hildebrand, who was the creator of the new Papacy. 'In the ecclesiastical sphere the Pope had obtained a position which he was never to lose.' Spiritual sovereignty found expression in legislative, executive, and judicial supremacy, and the Papacy became a power coeval with the Empire. Mr. Brooke also writes on Germany under Henry IV and V; Dr. Professor Stevenson on Islam in Syria, and Egypt and the First Crusade. Mr. Corbett of King's College, whose original researches in English history gave distinction to Volumes II. and III., died after the Preface to this volume was in type. It is enriched by two chapters from his pen on 'The Development of the Duchy of Normandy and the Norman Conquest of England,' and 'England, 1087-1154.' They are of special value and interest. William Rufus wished to be a conqueror like his father, and knew that if he succeeded he could snap his fingers at discontent. His favourite adviser was Ranulf Flambard, Rector of Godalming, who became notorious for his ingenious and oppressive exactions, and earned the hatred of every class. Rufus

made him Bishop of Durham, but Henry I cast him into prison, whence he escaped to Normandy and persuaded the king's brother Robert to make an attempt on the English crown. Professor Thompson writes on the Monastic Orders. Odilo found Cluny a spiritual power among Benedictine houses and left it the head of an order within the Benedictine system. He adorned the cloister with marble columns shipped from distant places, which made him boast that he had found Cluny of wood and left it of marble. In the days of his successor, Hugh, Peter Damian calls Cluny 'a paradise watered by the streams of the four Gospels, a garden of delights, a spiritual field where earth and heaven meet, a ground of conflict, in which, as in a wrestling-school of the spirit, the frailty of the flesh contends against the powers of the air.' Professor Hazeltine's chapter on Roman and Canon Law shows how Bologna became the most illustrious of all the Italian law schools of the Middle Ages—the very centre of juristic learning and of its diffusion throughout the civilized world. 'The school assimilated and united all of the legal elements derived from the past, and took a broad and independent attitude towards the various divergent tendencies in juridical thought.' Miss Deanesley's account of Mediaeval Schools should not be overlooked, and Mr. Reade's chapter on Philosophy gives a luminous account of the work of Erigena, Anselm, Abelard, Aquinas, Roger Bacon, and Duns Scotus. The maps, prepared by Mr. Gaskoin, are gathered together in a separate portfolio and are a real aid to the study of the period. The volume is one of which Cambridge University has just cause to be proud.

Lanfranc: A Study of His Life, Work, and Writing. By A. J. Macdonald, M.A. (Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d. net.)

There is no English 'Life of Lanfranc,' and Mr. Macdonald's work has special claim to attention as a careful survey of the period and a study of the prelate who became known for his commanding position as 'the patriarch of the West.' He was born in Pavia soon after A.D. 1000, and probably spent part of his student years at Bologna. On his return to Pavia he taught grammar and dialectics, and gained notable ascendancy as a practising advocate. When he forsook the law for theology he gathered round him a number of students at the cathedral school of Avranches and then became a monk at Bec. Like Anselm, he received his religious training in Normandy. Lanfranc's lectures drew many to Bec, and he devoted special care to the training of Anselm, but he gradually became involved in events on a wider theatre. He formed a close friendship with Duke William, and was able to secure a dispensation from the Pope for the duke's marriage, which was within the degrees prohibited by the Church. The duke and his wife were required to build a religious house for men and another for women at Caen. Lanfranc was made Abbot at Caen in 1063, and in 1070 became Archbishop of Canterbury. He successfully maintained the primacy of Canterbury over York; and Mr. Macdonald defends Lanfranc against

the charge of forgery in reference to papal letters which he produced at the Council of 1072. He began the great Norman reformation of the English Church by the revival of the Councils. It was arranged that no episcopal see should for the future be set up in a village centre ; the parochial clergy were brought under more adequate episcopal supervision ; the cathedrals at Canterbury and Rochester were rebuilt, and the abbey at St. Albans was restored and became a great school of historians. Lanfranc was a firm ruler, and all his actions were marked by sound and practical common sense. The book is one of special interest and importance.

Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI. By C. H. Smyth. (Cambridge University Press. 10s. 6d. net.)

In his Introduction to this Thirlwall and Gladstone Prize Essay for 1925, Mr. Smyth draws attention to the fact that the Reformation under Edward VI was determined primarily by social and domestic considerations. It was not in any sense a popular movement. 'The death of Edward VI left the whole country seething with Anabaptists, Arians, Marcionites, Davigeorgians, heretics, and sectaries of every description.' The Reformation under Henry VIII had been purely destructive. Neither king nor country had any wish to go beyond the expulsion of the Pope and the monks. The country as a whole remained loyal to the old faith. It was Catholic, though no longer Roman Catholic. 'In the end it was not Protestantism that converted England from Catholicism, but the Spanish Match.' Cranmer was resolved that if it cost him his life he would never allow the Church which had been entrusted to his care to be delivered from the bondage of Rome only to be thrust into the more constricting bondage of Zurich, and its revenues squandered by a pack of upstart peers. John Hooper might have become Primate had Edward VI lived a few years longer. He gloried in the prospect of martyrdom and endured it with heroism. 'He lived in an atmosphere of fierce suspicion ; his manner was severe, his sermons violent and provocative.' He flung himself with almost daemonic energy into the work of Reformation. Chapters are given to Oxford and Peter Martyr ; Cambridge and Bucer ; John à Lasco ; the revision of the Prayer Book ; and to Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, into whose hands the tangled threads of this perplexing period were gradually gathered up. Cranmer's martyrdom conferred immortality upon his labours. He laid down the lines of the Church's progress, and determined that its theology should neither be Zwinglian nor Roman. The Elizabeth Reformation was based upon precedents that he had established, and he 'bequeathed to the Church whose course he had so long and faithfully guided, a spirit of tolerance and moderation rare in that age of bigotry and superstition ; and a liturgy that is one of the most beautiful religious monuments of all time.' It is a noble tribute to Cranmer, who in his last hour stood as the Samson Agonistes of the English Reformation, and by the sacrifice of his life secured the triumph of his policy.

The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene. Translated into English with Introduction and Notes by Augustine Fitzgerald. (Oxford University Press. 21s. net.)

The letters of Synesius were greatly admired in the later days of the Roman Empire, but they have never been rendered into English, with the exception of a few passages. They throw much light on the social, political, and intellectual life of the fourth and fifth centuries, and no pains have been spared to give them a really reliable version in this handsome volume. The Introduction sets them in their original environment, and shows how Synesius came under the spell of Hypatia when he entered the University of Alexandria and writes to her in terms of unreserved gratitude, of affection and veneration. He was appointed envoy-extraordinary from Cyrenaica to the Court of Arcadius in Constantinople, and was pushed unwillingly into the highest office the Church could bestow, as bishop of Ptolemais, whilst still a layman. He prays 'that He who has been the Shepherd of my life may become also the Defender of His charge.' He thus 'came into close and intimate contact for the first time with the religion to which he had been, in form at least, newly converted. After this, evidences are not wanting in his letters that Christianity was becoming a sustenance to him instead of a shadow.' About forty of the letters are to his elder brother, Euoptius, to whom he gives a singularly vivid and detailed account of a perilous voyage in which they had 'seen and suffered such things as we never thought to happen even in our dreams.' There is a fine passage in his letter 'to the Elders.' 'God has not made Virtue other than perfect; it needs not evil as an ally. Soldiers worthy of churches will never be lacking to God. He will find allies for the cause, unrewarded here below, but fully rewarded in Heaven, be ye of the number.' He sends Hypatia two of his books on which he wishes to have her judgement. Two or three passages in one of them made him feel as though he were another person. 'Even now this work, as often as I go over it, produces a marvellous effect upon me, and a certain divine voice envelops me as in poetry.' The letters are full of allusions to contemporary events, and English readers will find them as interesting as did the bishop's contemporaries.

Life of St. Francis of Assisi. By W. H. Leathem, M.A. (James Clarke & Co. 3s. 6d. net.)

St. Francis died on October 3, 1226, and this new life is described as the '700th Anniversary Edition.' Mr. Leathem first saw Assisi 'in the magical beauty that it borrowed from the light of the setting sun; and it seemed like a dream city of the imagination. . . . Other cities of historic fame may disappoint us, but Assisi never.' He tells the great story with zest, but does not lose his critical instinct in discussing certain developments of the work. 'Only the ultra-sceptical doubt to-day the reality of the Stigmata.' The lessons of St. Francis's life are well brought out. He ministered to his own

age with his persuasive gospel of Peace and Love and Life, and it is the business of those who praise him to get back as he did to humanity and to Christ.

The Autobiography of Richard Baxter. Edited by J. M. Lloyd Thomas. (Dent & Sons. 7s. 6d. net.)

It is a real boon to have this abridgement of the *Reliquiae Baxterianae* with introduction, appendices, and notes, and with a photogravure frontispiece of Baxter, and other portraits and illustrations. Mr. Thomas has given us Baxter's own words, making such omissions as seemed most desirable, and judiciously retaining archaisms which help the reader to realize that he is studying a seventeenth-century folio. Baxter's 'countenance was composed and grave, somewhat inclining to smile.' He had 'a grim, ironic sense of humour, barbed with sarcasm,' and tells quaint stories and deftly turns the tables on his opponents with obvious delight. His description of his boyhood is delightful, and his account of the Parliamentary army and the troubles of the Civil War is history in its most vivid form. His own woes and the golden bullet which he swallowed to get relief, and over which a day of fasting and prayer was set apart, are not the least striking passages in the autobiography. Some omitted passages have been restored to the narrative. The appendices on Baxter's death and his marriage are of special interest, and the notes show what industrious research has been lavished on this attractive volume.

The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment. By Richard Bell, M.A., B.D. (Macmillan & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

These are the lectures delivered at Edinburgh University in 1925 on the Gunning Foundation which was intended to 'bring out among ministers the fruits of study in Science, Philosophy, Language, Antiquity, and Sociology.' Mr. Bell has sought to present the Origin of Islam against a background of surrounding Christianity. He found that the Qur'an itself contains the record of Mohammed's efforts to reach a meagre knowledge of the great religion which had ringed about Arabia. Islam may be regarded as a hostile force, whose irruption into the cultured lands of the East was made easy by the pride and unloveliness of a debased Christianity, but from another point of view it was in part the fruit of Christianity. We have to allow for considerable originality in Mohammed, though he was constantly borrowing and was quite frank about it. He was very practical, though he had the mystic quality of a seeker after truth. By the end of his Meccan period he was beginning to get fairly direct information as to what was in Scripture, and had discovered that Jesus was a prophet. His attitude to Jews and Christians was consistently friendly through the whole of the Meccan period, and at Medina he seems at first merely to have thought of establishing his own community on an equal footing with them.

Before the end of his life his view hardened, and, unless Christians were prepared to accept his dictate as to what the true religion was, conflict was inevitable. At present Islam is falling back upon tradition, but its scholastic system of theology is 'almost bound to be loosened. Something analogous to the liberation of Christianity at the Reformation time will take place sooner or later, and Islam will begin to adapt itself to the modern spirit.' Mr. Bell has given us a singularly illuminating study of Islam and its prophet.

Rambles and Reflections. By A. C. Benson. (Murray. 10s. 6d. net.)

Not long before his death Mr. Benson sent a number of essays to Mr. Murray that a selection from them might be published. This is the selection. The essays were chiefly written during the last two years of his life and range over country scenes such as the Sussex Downs, Cornwall, Bodiam Castle, and literary themes such as The New Poets, Coleridge, Carlyle's Early Life, and accounts of social pleasures, public speaking, conversation, and friendship. The descriptions of Henry James at Lamb House, Rye, and of Lord Rayleigh, stand out from the canvas, and the references to his mother and his brother Hugh's nervous strain before he preached have special family interest. There is not a little satire and irony in some of the essays, and one wonders whether 'Patricia' is not larger than life. But Fitton's fortunate chapter of accidents which found his junior colleague a sweetheart is delightful. Some of the papers are slighter than others, but they all have the old charm, and we hope that there may be enough left out of the parcel sent to Mr. Murray to furnish another volume as pleasant as this.

Highways and Byways in Leicestershire. By J. B. Frith. With Illustrations by F. L. Griggs, A.R.A. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

Leicestershire is not a tourist county, so that Mr. Frith's main search has not been for the picturesque. He has gone about looking for historical and literary associations, interested in the old churches, castles, ruins, and houses, and the people who have lived in them. Leicester itself has its memories of Cardinal Wolsey's last days, of Robert Hall's great ministry, of the Vaughans, who made St. Martin's 'the strongest spiritual force in the church life of Leicester.' Charnwood Forest is the most romantic district, with hills, woods, parks, and sheets of water and ruins of ancient mansions and religious houses. There is nothing quite like it in England. Wyclif spent his last nineteen years as Rector of Lutterworth; Hugh Latimer was born at Thorcaston, where his father was a well-to-do yeoman farmer. Selina Countess of Huntingdon was buried in the church at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in a white silk dress and a black coffin. Melton Mowbray is the capital of fox-hunting Leicestershire, and during the season 'thinks and talks of little else but horses, hounds, and hunting.'

A lively chapter is given to 'The Quorn Hunt,' and another to 'Hunting-men at Melton.' The whole book is very much alive and is packed with interesting facts about the past and the present. The confusion between Dodd and Doddridge should be noted. Mr. Griggs's illustrations have a quiet charm, and bring the old churches and houses, and the rural scenes of the country, under our very eyes.

Heretics, Saints, and Martyrs. By Frederic Palmer. (H. Milford. 10s. 6d. net.)

These essays aim to show, amid all the diversities of the little systems which have their day and cease to be, the deep soul-breathing consciousness of close fellowship with God, which is their bond of unity. 'What may be called the humanization of Church history results in the revelation in it of this unifying divine element.' The first essay is on 'The Anabaptists and their relation to civil and religious liberty.' It is a strange welter of fanaticism, but 'if the Anabaptist fathers could look upon the modern world, they would see almost all that they stood for adopted by it.' They were opposed to the union of Church and State, and refused to pay taxes for the support of the Church; they denounced war, proclaimed universal toleration, freedom of conscience and worship. The essay on Joachim, Abbot of Floris in Calabria, brings out the fact that the Middle Ages were no time of unquestioning faith. The most daring speculations and the bitterest denunciations of the Church were openly published. Joachim insisted on the dominance of the spirit. The relation to Christ consisted not so much in believing His words and obeying them as in being filled with His spirit. Angelus Silesius laid stress on the fact that God is love. He is always seeking to pour Himself into us, to give us all of Himself that we are capable of receiving. 'Angelus Silesius sought God; and, as always, more abundantly than he had dreamed, God met him.' High tribute is paid to Dr. Watts as 'the first Englishman who set the gospel to music, and in his special field of song he had never been surpassed.' The account of 'Perpetua and Felicitas,' the girl martyrs, is very touching. 'Mani and Dualism' is another suggestive essay, and the last is 'A comparison of the Synoptic, Pauline, and Johannine conceptions of Jesus.' Belief in the idea of Christ as immanent in the soul, which underlies both the Pauline and Johannine conceptions, will depend largely upon whether such an idea is demanded by one's spiritual nature. To some the figure which appears in the Synoptists may be a sufficient explanation of the person of Christ and of the way of their own approach to God. Others 'will recognize in the portrait of Christ drawn by Paul and John, with the purpose of presenting to the soul its Master, features intrinsically probable as those of the historic Jesus of Nazareth and essential to the Saviour of the world.' The essays are of very real interest and value.

John Wesley: Christian Philosopher and Church Founder. By George Eayrs, Ph.D. (Epworth Press. 7s. 6d. net.) This is the

first time that Wesley has been regarded chiefly as a Christian Philosopher whose remarkable work as a Church Founder issued from his philosophy. Dr. Eayrs brings to his survey the new light which has been thrown on Wesley's life at Oxford, and sets him in his eighteenth-century environment of philosophic thought. His philosophy and his work as Church Founder were both based on Christian experience, and its implications are impressively brought out. 'He conceived ultimate Reality as infinite, personal, fatherly, holy Love; as supremely manifested in Jesus Christ, and operant in the world of men by the Holy Spirit.' Wesley's acts as Church Founder are described with much interesting detail. Every student of the Evangelical Revival will be grateful for this fresh and attractive survey.—*Agnes E. Slack.* By Ælfrida Tillyard. (Heffer & Sons. 3s. 6d. and 7s. 6d. net.) Miss Slack has travelled 200,000 miles in four continents as a temperance advocate, and has enjoyed the intimate friendship of such leaders as Lady Henry Somerset, Lady Carlisle, and Miss Willard. She was appointed Honorary Secretary of the British Women's and the World Christian Temperance Unions in 1895, and her name will always be joined with those of the distinguished leaders in that movement in this country and in America. Her genial spirit and her eager delight in all good things have won her warm friends all round the world, and have greatly contributed to her successful accomplishment of many difficult tasks. Her experiences in many lands are brightly described, and many touching incidents of temperance work are given. It is a book of real interest, and one that will inspire temperance and social workers with fresh courage.—*Mr. Valiant,* by Leonard T. Towers, M.A. (Epworth Press, 2s. 6d. net), is the life story of the Rev. Arthur G. Hopkins, M.C., who did memorable work as missionary, scoutmaster, airman, and pastor. He died of cancer at the age of thirty-three, but he left many lives richer and purer for his influence, and this touching little biography will make him live and work among us still.—*L'Hellénisme en lutte contre l'Orient et l'Occident.* By G. S. Frangoudis. (Bayswater: 57 Princes' Square.) This is a short history of the Greeks, and especially of events in the Near East during the last hundred years. The writer holds that the pro-Turk French policy and Italian imperialism brought about the complete destruction of the Christian element in Asia Minor. He says 'the Greek is one of the strongest and cleverest individuals in the world, but as a citizen he leaves much to be desired.' Nevertheless he feels 'somehow satisfied with the present state of affairs in Greece.'—*King Arthur's Country.* By F. J. Snell. (Dent & Sons. 6s. net). The Arthurian romance never loses its fascination, and the results of topographical research are here gathered under the localities concerned. We begin with Tintagel and end with Brittany. Somerset, with Glastonbury and Camelot, has more than sixty pages, and much pleasant information is given as to the Arthurian links to Wales and Cumberland. Geoffrey of Monmouth, who writes a long account of Arthur, says that he

died in 541, but his chronicle is so full of fables that we scarcely know what credence to give his record. Mr. Snell is unable to speak definitely on many points, but he presents the traditions in a compact and attractive form, and his book will claim a place on our shelves with Malory and Tennyson, and will add much to the pleasure with which we study their work.—*Way Back in Papua*. By J. H. Holmes. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d. net.) This is the story of the christianization of Papua told with a beauty that holds a reader's attention firmly from first to last. The first chapter introduces Eni, a survival of the tribal past. His daughter's daughter has become a Christian and is married to the evangelist. There is love and adventure in the story, and the English trader's conversion brings prosperity to the whole village. Mr. Holmes says that the dawn cannot come to Papua till the laymen of all Christendom do for the primitive races in temporal things what the missionaries are doing for them in spiritual things.—*Berwickshire and Roxburghshire*. By W. S. Crockett. (Cambridge University Press. 3s. net.) This new volume of the Cambridge County Handbooks is both complete and compact, with maps, diagrams, and illustrations which make the two border counties stand out clearly with their general characteristics, special features, geology, natural history, population, and employments. The history and antiquities are fully treated, and the Roll of Honour has such names as Sir Walter Scott, Dr. John Cairns, Dr. Robertson Nicoll, Anna M. Stoddart, and others. It is an altogether workmanlike handbook.—*Seventy Years a Showman*. By 'Lord' George Sanger. With an Introduction by Kenneth Grahame. (Dent & Sons. 6s. net.) This is a tasteful reprint of the work of 'Lord' George Sanger published in 1910. So skilled a judge as Sir A. Quiller-Couch has found the book a delight. It is written in clear and simple English, and is packed with stories, many of which about wolves, lions, and elephants are really thrilling. It is a wonderful record of pluck and plodding industry, and it shows what enterprise and invention went to build up the writer's fortune. He dubbed himself 'Lord' to outrival the Hon. William Cody who won such popularity as 'Buffalo Bill.' We are let into many secrets, and see how easily the public are pleased and deceived by clever devices. Mr. Grahame's Introduction brings out the chief features of the book and contributes not a few interesting recollections of his own.—*Peggy Ann in Latin America* (Abingdon Press, 75 cents) is a young missionary's wife who had been a teacher in mission schools in South America and writes a weekly letter describing her daily life and the work in Latin America. It is a vivid little book, and shows that 'what all Latin America needs is a chance.'

GENERAL

La Psychologie de la Conversion chez les Peuples non-civilisés.
Tome II. By Raoul Allier. (Paris, 1925.)

THIS is a notable book. A good deal of useful work has been done of late years on conversion as a department of the psychology of religion, the latest volume being by Underwood, recently reviewed in these pages, and on the psychology of non-civilized races, both from the point of view of ethnology (Lévy-Bruhl's book on *The Mentality of Primitive Peoples* is a classic) and of missionary study. The pioneer here was Warneck (*The Living Forces of the Gospel*). Warneck, indeed, went further, and, though he confined his material to one tribe in the Dutch East Indies, he discussed at length the elements in Christianity which gave, or should give, to it its strength against heathenism. But it has been left to M. Allier to combine the two subjects, and in a work of great detail and extraordinarily comprehensive knowledge to describe the movements, the bewildered retreats, and the shy advances of the pagan when the strange message of the gospel, and the still stranger messenger (as he very often is), enters his world. What each missionary has had to discover for himself, or has often failed to discover altogether, M. Allier has set down in these two bulky yet eminently readable volumes.

In an engagingly frank Preface the author explains how he came to write the book at all. He had intended to write a thesis on the notion of moral evil; but, while engaged upon it, he came across a volume of the *Journal des Missions évangéliques*, and was filled with a new interest. Although he has never worked on the mission-field himself, for nearly forty years he has given himself to the examination of missionary literature and experience, and, as he says with a smile, hardly one of the missionaries of the Société de Paris has escaped the persecution of his interviews and investigations. Conversion he speaks of as the 'crisis'; dealing first with its antecedents, he discusses the barriers of language, custom, the influence of fatalism and magic, 'moral suffering,' and the dualism of feeling that may issue in dreams and hallucinations. In connexion with the crisis itself he discusses the actual decision, the place of emotion and of the intellect, individual awakenings and mass movements, and suddenness and gradualness in conversion. Then he turns to conditions of stability in the new faith, discipline, the slow rise of a new sense of morality, the long struggle against old habits and instincts, the formation of a native Church, and the emergence of a new sense of responsibility. The book offers a wealth of material on subjects upon which most of us are content to generalize on the basis of a few casually-collected instances. We congratulate French Protestantism on the production of so important a contribution to missionary

knowledge ; and we can only express a hope that its vivacious and lucid French may soon be translated into our own sober English.

The Religion of Health. By Sir W. Barrett, F.R.S. (Dent & Sons. 3s. 6d. net.)

Sir William Barrett did not live to finish this examination of Christian Science, but his sister has completed the work at his express wish. It deals with the truths and the errors of the system in a fair and unprejudiced way and from a definitely Christian point of view. If Christian Scientists can triumph over worry and depression, most of us may learn from them with advantage, and they are always eager to talk about their faith and to make converts. 'Sickness and the healing of the body plays a more important part in their teaching than sin, repentance, and the healing of the soul.' So far as Christian Science insists on the fact that individual effort must be co-operative with a higher and vaster Power, Sir William Barrett welcomes its teaching. He traces the history of the cult, and examines its alleged cures, some of which he regards as well authenticated. 'The teaching of Christian Science comes as a revelation of health to the hypochondriac, the *malade imaginaire*, to the self-centred and to those who are perpetually thinking about their own health and fussing over every little ailment, and dosing themselves with medicine, for suggestion creates as well as causes illness.' The whole system consists in infusing one idea into its adherents—that all is spirit, and that spirit cannot suffer. Psycho-therapy is now a recognized branch of medical study, and there is nothing new or peculiar in the therapeutic power claimed by Christian Science. 'Many remarkable faith-cures were common in other sects and communions long before the days of Mrs. Eddy, while even more extraordinary cures of intractable disorders have been accomplished by means of hypnotic treatment, where no question of any religious or metaphysical creed enters in.'

A Dictionary of Modern English Usage. By H. W. Fowler. (H. Milford. 7s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Fowler dedicates this book to the memory of his brother, who shared with him in the planning of the work but died in 1918 of tuberculosis, contracted during the war. The dictionary gives general articles as well as those on individual words. That on 'French Words' regards it as inconsiderate and rude to use those which a reader or hearer does not know or does not fully understand. Only faddists, however, will insist on finding native substitutes for *titte-d-tête*, *laissez-faire*, and a hundred other words that save circumlocution. Lists of words and rules for pronunciation are given. Other articles deal with spelling and pronunciation, and explain Bacon's divisions of fallacies, such as *idola fori*. There is much to learn from the articles on illiteracies, illogicalities, pronouns, protagonist, and rhythm. The book is much more than an ordinary

dictionary ; it is a guide to spelling and pronunciation such as we have long needed, and it will be quite an education in correct speaking and writing to consult this workmanlike volume.

Chambers's Encyclopaedia. Vol. VII. Edited by David Patrick, M.A., LL.D., and William Geddie, M.A., B.Sc. (W. & R. Chambers. 20s. net.)

This volume begins with an important article on Manchester which sketches its history, its business, and its educational and literary life. Its last paragraph is on Pennywort, and between the two are articles on Manichaeans, by Professor Burkitt ; Mary Queen of Scots, by Joseph Robertson ; Medicine, by Dr. Combie ; Methodism, Newspapers, Optics, Painting, Palaeography, Pascal, Patents, Peace, and a host of other subjects, which are handled by recognized experts. Many of the articles are new ; others have been carefully revised in the light of the latest research. It is the best working encyclopaedia for popular use that we possess, and this new volume has had endless skill and care lavished upon it by editors and contributors.

Greek through English. By Arthur S. Way, D.Litt. (Dent & Sons. 3s. 6d.) This little book seeks to introduce the learner to Greek through words already familiar to him in their English dress. Dr. Way shows that Greek is by no means a dead language. His vocabularies give about seven hundred of our words which are purely and simply Greek. There are also hosts of words familiar only to the specialists in various sciences. 'As soon as a pretty wild-flower is developed by culture into a garden one, it forgets its old rustic dress, and flaunts in Greek attire ; and so the snapdragon becomes the antirrhinum (nose-to-nose flower), and the larkspur the delphinium (dolphin flower), and the professional gardener or amateur knows the old names no more.' Fifty-eight lists are given, with a passage in Greek that weaves them together in a very suggestive way. The second part is a Supplementary Grammar ; and after this come passages for translation from the New Testament, Xenophon, Euripides, Homer, and Herodotus, with an index to the Greek words. It is a unique introduction to the study of Greek, and one that will be of great service to beginners.

Les Déséquilibres et la Vie sociale. Par le Docteur Jean Vinchon. (Paris : Rivière. 9 fr.) This is a doctor's study of mental disease in its various forms. Unbalanced minds are legion, the sad product of the war and of a time of trouble. How to remedy the evil so as to safeguard the family and the nation is the problem which Dr. Vinchon sets himself to face. He shows what is being done by individual treatment and hospital organization. America has set the example in developing social and individual therapeutics on a large scale, in order to arrest the degeneration of the race. It includes the struggle against three poisons—alcohol, syphilis, and

tuberculosis—each of which creates its own modes of mental disequilibrium. Morphine, opium, cocaine, and ether ought to be watched, because they are dangerous, but alcohol is the chief of the social poisons. It is high time that such a book as this was in the hands of all social reformers.

Village Schools in India. By Mason Olcutt, Ph.D. (Oxford University Press. 3s. 6d. net.) Dr. Olcutt has had extended and varied experience of Indian education. One-sixth of the human race lives in the villages of India. Nine of every ten are villagers, and over ninety-two per cent. are illiterate. More adequate schools and teachers are imperatively demanded. The conditions which prevail in the villages, the way in which rural education can be reformed and extended, and how village teachers can be trained and developed, are the subjects discussed in this important book. It is a vast problem, for the villagers of India number 286,467,204 or seven times the population of Great Britain. The village schools are almost entirely concerned with educating the children of the farming classes. Many more women teachers are needed. Few women and girls have enough schooling to undertake the work, and, except in Madras, the work is considered socially degrading. Suggestions as to training teachers and as to the curriculum and instruction for the schools are given in detail. The book is one of very special interest and importance.

The Functions of an English Second Chamber. By G. B. Roberts, LL.B. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d. net.) Mr. Roberts feels that the question of the reform of the House of Lords will sooner or later have to be finally determined, and when that time comes bicameralists will have to prove that a Second Chamber has work to perform necessary for the good government of the State and which can only be performed by a Second Chamber. Mr. Roberts holds that a Second Chamber is necessary for this country in order to examine and revise Bills brought from the House of Commons ; to initiate Bills dealing with subjects of a non-controversial character ; and to secure full and free discussion of important questions, such as those of foreign policy, at moments when the House of Commons could not afford sufficient time for their discussion. The Australian and Canadian Senates, the Norwegian Constitution, are described, and suggestions are made for a reform of the House of Lords which would enable it to deal with the functions cited above and preserve the historical associations of the present Chamber. Such a lucid and well-reasoned consideration of the subject is of real interest and practical service.

The Methodist Book Concern sends us a set of volumes of great interest and value. Professor Prince's study of *Wesley on Religious Education* shows that he did more than any other individual of his day to stimulate the intellectual life of Great Britain.—*Tragedy and Triumph* deals with our Lord's sayings in an arresting way.—*Out*

of their Mouths is a course of instruction on the religions of the world. Each is explained by its own representative, and lighted up by personal experience in a voyage round the world.—*God's Family*, by Bishop Edwin Hughes, fixes on the revealing name of 'Father' as the deepest truth of Christianity, God confers on us His own nature, and thus fits finally to enter the Father's house.—*Steeple Among the Hills* is a delightful account of a country pastor's joys.—*Outlooks on God* catches inspiring glimpses of Him from many windows of the human soul.—*The Christian's Personal Religion* is a helpful manual for young disciples.—*Christ in Man-making* has three suggestive chapters on Christ in heredity, in environment, in the individual will.—*The Measure of a Youth* deals with the dreams, the heroism, and the ambitions of youth in a way that will attract and help its readers.—*Youth Looks at the Church* embodies the feelings of nine hundred students from nearly two hundred colleges and universities who met at Evanston. It will guide and encourage all workers among the young.—*The Psychology of Later Adolescence* and *Organization and Administration of the Adult Department* are text-books for teacher-training which have ripe experience and good sense behind them.—*Inner Radiance*, by Evelyn M. Watson (75 cents), is a set of paragraphs on Mysticism which give the experience of a devout and gifted Christian. It is a little book that will warm many hearts.—*Alcohol and the New Age*, by Deets Pickett (75 cents), is an 'elective course for young people' by a specialist, who deals with the subject of Prohibition and the new problems in a new world in a way that will win the sympathy of young readers. Questions for discussion are given at the end of each chapter. It is well informed and practical throughout.

The Merton Press has issued a set of poems which show real gifts of thought and imagination. The prices range from 5s. to 6d. net; they are tastefully got up and well printed. *Morning Song* is by Beatrice Holmes, a New Zealand girl who wrote the pieces whilst in England. The beautiful illustrations are by Betty Rhind, a New Zealand artist. It is pleasant to see England at springtime through this visitor's eyes, and it is choice work for a girl of twelve to fifteen.—*Silver Bells and Cockle Shells*, by Annie M. Pike, ring out real music.—*Gipsy Lore* has lines on St. Mary's Churchyard, Guildford, and Porlock Weir that one likes to read.—*Elixir Vitae* and *The Little Things* are little poems with a charm of their own.—*The Ballad of Elaine*, by S. Fowler Wright, tells the story of her love for Lancelot with rare grace and pathos.—*Songs of the Sun* have life and brightness.—*The Child Woman* depicts the emotions of 'the mystic period of adolescence'.—*Vagabond Sonnets* are tender little things which stir many memories.—*The Calendar* is a play for children in which all the months take part, and May has a song with music: 'The Spring Knocks at your Door.'—*Mother's Dream* is another play in which the children comfort the anxious mother with forecasts of their usefulness and love in days to come.—*Poems and Songs*, a short

anthology, edited by John Hawke (Selwyn & Blount, 6s. net), is a charming little volume which gathers together a host of favourite pieces from Shakespeare to Wordsworth. The Preface describes the method followed in the selection, and adds to the interest with which we turn to poem-songs, sacred songs, and old favourites like 'The Good News from Aix to Ghent'; Gray's 'Elegy,' and the pieces from Lord Byron, Burns, Cowper, Keats, and other masters. Mr. Hawke has done his work with taste and good judgement, and it is no small pleasure to turn over his pages.—*Shreds and Patches*. By Halbert J. Boyd. (Stockwell. 2s. 6d.) Mr. Frankfort Moore dwells in his Foreword on the intimacy with Nature which these poems show. 'The Morning Wind' lures him into the meadows; 'June' fills him with delight; and the 'Laverock descending' teaches him how to bring balm to a loving heart. It is tuneful and thoughtful all through.

Beau Geste, by R. C. Wren (John Murray, 7s. 6d. net), has been reprinted sixteen times in fifteen months, and we do not wonder at its vogue. It has a jewel mystery which holds its secret till almost the last page; it is a vivid picture of life in the French Legion; it has exciting scenes of desert fighting and desert wandering; it has love-stories and stories of devotion which are fascinating. It is full of excitements and adventures, and keeps one wondering to the end.—*Egyptian Scriptures Interpreted*. By G. A. Gaskell. (C. W. Daniel. 7s. 6d. net.) This is the third volume of a series which seeks to explain 'the undermeanings of various sacred writings in the literature of different nations.' The correspondence between Christianity and the Osirian beliefs indicates, Mr. Gaskell thinks, a common source in the divine teaching. The Egyptian symbols are explained and illustrated by many diagrams. The stories of Isis and Osiris, with various legends and tales, and extracts from the Book of the Dead, will interest students of comparative religion, though the interpretations seem strained.—*The Problem of Spiritism*. By R. W. Thompson, M.A. (Marshall Brothers. 8s. 6d.) A strong indictment of Spiritism enforced by not a few striking instances of the mischief it has worked and the deception, conscious or unconscious, in the majority of séances. Mr. Thompson gives some amusing ghost stories, and makes fun of some incidents related in Wesley's *Journal*. The protest is powerful and timely.—*The Opium Evil in India*. By C. F. Andrews, M.A. (Student Christian Movement. 1s. net.) The facts are clearly stated as to opium consumption in Indian cities, in Assam and Burma, and as to export sales carried on between India and other countries in the Far East. The position taken by Lord Robert Cecil in reference to the American charges of a breach of contract is also stated, and Britain's responsibility for the continuance of the opium evil is brought out in this important booklet.—Mr. Allenson sends us three volumes. *Captain January* by Laura E. Richards, is a story of a lighthouse-keeper and a baby who is washed up by the sea and finds a true father in

the fine old sailor.—*Life and Power*, by V. Edwards, deals with problems of the present day in a way that will help thoughtful people to understand their relationship to the world around them. It is suggestive and helpful.—*Effective Speaking and Writing*, by John Darlington, D.D., is a second edition of an epitome of Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, which it arranges in a form that has been useful to young speakers. The volumes are published at 3s. 6d. net, —*The Apocrypha in the Revised Version and Selected Prose of John Milton* have been added to *The World's Classics* (Oxford University Press. 2s. net). Professor Wallace of Toronto has selected and edited the Milton volume, and his Introduction adds to the interest of the nine sets of extracts. They are two specially welcome additions to the famous library.—Models of a modern locomotive and sleeping-car set side by side with their predecessors of a century ago are intended to be reproduced with a pair of scissors, a pocket-knife, and thin glue. They are issued by the Locomotive Publishing Co. (6d. each), and will give delightful employment to young brains and fingers. They are elaborate and exact models, and beautifully set out.—*Where did I come from, Mother?* By Millicent Gordon. (Mills & Boon. 1s. net.) A difficult question well answered.

The Epworth Press issues a varied set of volumes which appeal to all classes. *A Faggot of Torches*, by F. W. Boreham (6s.), gives twenty-two texts that have made history. They light up men's lives and change their whole outlook on the world. Every study has its lesson brought home to heart and conscience in a way that is simply delightful. Mr. Boreham found on his recent visit to England that the most splendid ghosts glided out from the silences. He met them everywhere, and not least at Broadhembury, where the spell of Toplady fell upon him. He makes it fall upon his readers also, for this is a book of dramas of real life and dramas that make a deep and lasting impression on mind and heart.—*The Secret of Home Happiness*, by Mrs. Coulson Kernahan (2s. net), dwells on courtship, marriage, the training of children, and other home themes in a way that is really uplifting as well as intensely interesting. Every family bookshelf ought to give this volume a place of honour.—*The Honour of John Tremayne* (5s.) is the story of a convict who had been deeply wronged by an enemy, but proved his innocence and won the love and prosperity which he well deserved in Australia. There is a thrill in it from first to last.—*From Savagery to Christ*, by H. R. Rycroft (2s.), is a beautiful record of a native of the Solomon Islands. His eager mind, his generous nature, and his high-toned Christian life, are impressively described by his friend and pastor.—*Christ and the Present Age*, by W. Lorne Cornish (2s. 6d.), examines certain aspects of the life of our day, and shows how the fact of Christ bears upon them. He, and He only, offers men life and hope. It is the book of a thinker and a book with a living message for to-day.—*Ourselves and Others*, by Herston Travers (1s.), is a little book of counsels for life. Sympathy and discernment blend happily in these

bright and impressive papers.—*The Mystery of Painlessness*, by Dr. Ballard (1s.), brings out the marvels of the human body, and reminds us that the passage through life for most of us is almost painless. We talk much about suffering, and it is a mental tonic to have the other side so forcibly brought out.—*Of Such is the Kingdom*, by Alice I. Cook (6d.), is the idyll of the child, and will go right home to the hearts of all who love them.—The Epworth Press has some attractive books for young people in its Royal Series (2s. net). *The Belle of St. Clemens*, by Alys Chatwyn, has five stories full of adventure, and told with a zest that will charm all girls.—*Marjory's Ordeal*, by Ernest Protheroe, is another set of stories as spirited and exciting as they could be made.—*Girls' Grit*, by Phyllis Hanley, with its plucky girls and its villain, who is unmasked by one of them, is a story that one finds it hard to lay down. The curate is a real man, and so is Tom Bradwell, but Chris Fosbrooke is a match for any of them in pluck and resourcefulness.—*Burly of Benny's*, by Donald Wimble, will delight schoolboys. It has no dull page. A coloured jacket and frontispiece add much to the attractiveness of the books.—*Adventures of the Don and Sancho* (1s. net) belongs to the 'Epworth Children's Classics.' It tells the great romance with spirit, and its coloured and black and white illustrations are delightful.—*Just Fancy*, by J. B. Brooks (Epworth Press, 2s. net), gives thirty-five talks to boys and girls of the most attractive kind. They have fancy in them, and many pleasant incidents which make their own impression. The visit of the Prince of Wales to the little private hospital is very impressively told.—*Granny's Wonderful Chair* (Epworth Press, 1s.) has six of Miss Browne's arresting stories published in 1852, and now illustrated with rare skill by R. B. Ogle. The talking chair makes the fortune of its little mistress.—*Our Boys' Best Annual*, edited by Ernest Protheroe (Epworth Press, 3s. 6d. net), has won a great reputation, and the stories, pictures, and papers in this volume are all full of life and excitement. Boys will delight in them.—*Our Girls' Best Annual* (3s. 6d.) has made its mark, and the new volume is full of lively stories and hints about games which girls love. It is alive all through.—*The Redcaps' Annual* has pictures wherever one opens it, and its tales and verse are just what small folk delight in.—Those who love living things will get rare pleasure from *Teeny-Weeny's Animal Fun*. It will keep them excited and amused from first to last.—*Blue Island Treasure*, by Clarence Ponting (Epworth Press, 1s. 6d.), is the story of two scouts who go by aeroplane to the South Seas and discover a million of gold. Their astonishing adventures will delight boy readers, and they deserve their good fortune.—*The Kiddies' Annual* (3s. 6d.) is full of delights for children. Every story, every rhyme, every picture will give them rare pleasure. There is nothing better in the child's book world.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Edinburgh Review (April).—The Hon. George Peel's 'Reconstruction of French Finance' shows that the Third Republic, during its fifty years of life, has rarely pursued a sound financial policy. She entered the Great War burdened with the heaviest debt in Europe. The primary need is provision of proper accounts. At present the chaos is indescribable. There is also a chaos of authorities. The vast expenditure on the Devastated Departments should be cut down to the bone, and her revenues, particularly those derived from the profits of agriculture and the interest on securities, should be better collected. Mr. Pilcher writes on 'Lord Reading's Indian Viceroyalty.' 'He has evoked the respect and affection of a larger number of Indians than any preceding Viceroy. He has made no single enemy in the ranks of the European community, to whose needs, qualities, and achievements he has accorded a recognition not always vouchsafed them by his predecessors. He has left India immeasurably happier, calmer, and more prosperous than he found her.' Mr. Cox's article, 'England's Treasure by Trade,' is particularly interesting.

Hibbert Journal (April).—Miss M. D. Petre opens the present number by an article entitled '*An Deus sit?*' taking up the subject of the existence of God as recently treated by Dr. Broad. Miss Petre, moved by the fact that, in spite of accumulated arguments for the Being of God, 'proofs' fail and many do not see or believe, comes to the conclusion that 'our effort, if any, should be, not to create certainty, but to share experience,' for 'the most pronounced atheist cannot be unaffected by the very atmosphere he breathes.' Mr. Edmund Holmes, under the title 'Two or One?' writes a defence of the Higher Pantheism. Mr. Macmurray, Fellow of Balliol, contends that modern Christianity 'is not Christian at all, but Anti-christian,' and that it should be made scientific by professing doctrines all liable to modification and rules of conduct regarded only as 'working hypotheses.' The next article on 'Art in Education,' by R. G. Collingwood, pleads that we should get rid of the idea that 'a right training in art' implies no mere ornamental culture, but that it is 'the absolute bed-rock of all sane human life.' Two Methodist scholars contribute to this number, Professor G. Jackson writing again on the Holy Spirit and Dr. Vincent Taylor giving a spirited reply to the charge of the 'Alleged Neglect of M. Alfred Loisy.' An important and very useful paper by the Rev. J. M. Crum gives at length a conjectural restoration of the hypothetical document

known as 'Q.' which, according to modern criticism, formed an integral part of the 'sources' used by the First and Third Evangelists. Other interesting articles are 'Religious Conditions in Russia' (unsigned), 'Observations on Science and Religion,' by Joseph Needham, and 'Back to Arcady,' by the Hon. R. Erskine of Marr.

Journal of Theological Studies (January).—The leading article by the editor, Dr. C. H. Turner, is a republication of a lecture on the Grinfield Foundation. It claims to prove that ἀγαπητὸς γιος should be rightly rendered, not 'Beloved,' but 'Only Son.' The argument is supported by the well-known learning of the writer. Dr. G. H. Dix writes on 'Messiah Ben Joseph,' Canon Streeter on 'The Caesarean Text of the Gospels,' and Professor Burkitt on 'Pistis Sophia and the Coptic Language.' A melancholy interest attaches to the paper on 'Christ as the ἀρχή of Creation' by the late Dr. C. F. Burney, whose recent death is a lamented loss to Christian scholarship. The Reviews of Books by well-known hands form an integral part of an interesting number—e.g. Dr. Oman on Professor Tennant's treatment of Miracle; Father Connolly on Nestorius; a discussion of recent Old Testament criticism by G. R. Driver; and 'Early Latin Hymns (A. S. Walpole),' by Professor F. C. Burkitt.

Expository Times (April).—The Notes of recent Exposition deal with important current publications on such subjects as the Fourth Gospel, the date of the Exodus, Klausner's *Jesus of Nazareth*, and Professor Lloyd Morgan's Gifford Lectures. An interesting paper follows on 'The Parable of the Pounds,' by Canon Simpson, and the subject of 'The Christian Faith and Religious Certainty' is ably discussed by the Rev. A. J. Westlake. The relationship between Jeremiah and the Deuteronomic Reform is well summarized by the Rev. F. A. Farley. Other papers are 'Moses and the New Sinai Inscriptions,' by the Rev. J. W. Jack, and 'The Resurrection Faith,' by Professor G. S. Duncan, of St. Andrews. Amongst the 'Contributions and Comments' is a characteristic note on 'Irenaeus and the Song of Moses,' by the veteran Dr. J. Rendel Harris.

Anglican Theological Review (January).—Dr. Pierce, in a sermon on 'Christ and Miracle,' says, 'If Jesus was God, as His disciples believed, then about His earthly life would gather strange exercises of powers which we do not yet, and may never, understand, unaccustomed exhibitions of laws, which, though they lie beyond our mortal ken, are none the less eternally operative in the universe.' Dr. Angus Dun writes on 'The Psychology of Religious Practices,' and Dr. Mercer on 'A New-found Book of Proverbs'—the *Precepts of Amen-em-ope* discovered by Sir Wallis Budge in 1928, and of which translations appeared in 1924. It furnishes many comparisons with Prov. xxii. 17–xxiii. 11, which show how the Hebrew author used it, and forms 'another link in the chain of thought which bound the Nearer Orient into one great unit of work and purpose and life.' —(April).—In his paper on 'Paul and Thecla' Dr. Davies says the

periods of vigorous life and activity in the Church have always been characterized by a firm and practical belief in the supernatural. The periods when the Church has been marked by rationalism have been the most sterile. He says what saved England was the Wesleyan revival.

The Modern Churchman (May and June).—Warm tribute is paid to Canon Glazebrook, 'a theological and political Liberal, a friend of Canon Barnett and his wife, and a firm believer in their methods of social reform.' An important note deals with Dr. Ballard's article on Modernism in our April number. 'The Great Itinerant,' by C. J. Wright, shows how Wesley recalled 'from the worship of dogma to the necessity of religious experience and to the service of the Kingdom.'

The Church Quarterly (January).—Professor Nairne, in 'The Cambridge Platonists,' says, 'get Whichcote's *Aphorisms* if you can, carry it about. Keep it by your bed. If you cannot find a copy, get Campagnac's *Selections from Whichcote, Smith, and Culverwell*, a delectable companion too.' Henry More 'was learned, almost a scholar; more divagatory than full in thought, a philosopher after a manner, who held spirit to be extended substance and was interested in ghosts.' Dr. Claude Jenkins speaks of Dr. Read's book on Sir Francis Walsingham as 'the most important study of some aspects of the period that has appeared for many years.' For a long time he enjoyed a reputation as a diplomatist greater than any other Englishman. 'If his judgement was sometimes at fault, none could deny his shrewdness; and in censuring his methods injustice has often been done to his motives.'

The Pilgrim (April).—Dr. Temple finds relief, after a fortnight's session of the House of Bishops, in an article on 'The Resources of Literature.' Omar Khayyām charms by an air of profound thought, and is easily intelligible, so that it flatters the reader with the sense that he is appreciating profound thought. It reminds him of Dr. Jenkyns, Master of Balliol, who said about the more commonplace remarks of Aristotle: 'Profound thought! I have often made the same observation myself.' Gray's 'Elegy' is commonplace in thought and feeling, 'but the expression is so perfect that it really does reveal the beauty of those common thoughts and feelings which inspire it. And to bring out the beauty of what is so familiar is a high service to mankind.' There are important articles on 'The Social and Political Consciousness of Jesus,' 'Psychology and Christology,' and other subjects.

Congregational Quarterly (April).—'Some Memories of a Bursar,' by Dr. Norman H. Smith, is very pleasant reading about Shrewsbury School and Mansfield College. Mr. Chirgwin thinks that China will survive the staggering blows of three simultaneous revolutions, and will emerge one of the greatest peoples of the world. The articles by Dr. Herbert Gray and Dr. Mary Scharlieb on 'Conception Control' are of special importance.

Holborn Review (January).—The editor opens this number by an article on a great editor, Sir W. R. Nicoll. It is highly appreciative, though seasoned with the salt of sound criticism. Dr. Peake's personal knowledge of Nicoll and of the religious periodical literature of the last quarter of a century has enabled him to write an 'inside' notice of great interest and ability. The Rev. C. Phillips Cape answers the question of his title, 'Is Theosophy Christian?' by the blunt statement, 'A Christian Theosophist is a contradiction in terms.' Mr. Cape's experience as a missionary in India has fitted him for the thorough discussion of a subject which is more practical than many would suppose. Helps to an investigation of the subject are given in the 'Study Circle' section. Two articles on social and kindred questions are 'Social Science,' by G. T. Jones, and 'An Economic Interpretation of Christianity,' by Edward Grubb. The Rev. J. Ritson writes on 'The Land and the Nation.' The editor's notes on biblical subjects are valuable and interesting, and the reviews of 'Current Literature' are well worth careful study.

AMERICAN

Journal of Religion (Chicago) (March).—This number continues the 'Past Quarter-Century' surveys undertaken by this periodical; one on the Psychology of Religion in America during that period, by E. L. Schaub, another on American Preaching for twenty-five years past, by Ozora S. Davis. Professor Case of Chicago solves (?) the 'Problem of Teaching the Bible to Undergraduates' by saying that youth should be made to see that their business is 'not to repeat in parrot-like fashion norms that have been laid down in the past,' but to show themselves to be devout people, 'living creatively and sponsoring such new attitudes and loyalties as may be demanded by the conditions of a new day.' R. C. Adhikary of Calcutta describes 'The Present Religious Situation in India,' dealing with the three dominant religions, Hinduism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity. A discriminating appreciation of 'The Theology of Eugene Ménégoz' is given by Professor W. M. Horton of Oberlin. French Protestant thought is chiefly associated in this country with the name of A. Sabatier, representing the attitude of so-called *symbolo-fideism*. Ménégoz was his colleague and close friend, and an influential leader of French liberal thought. Professor Horton gives a sympathetic account of his teaching on faith and its implications. Amongst the Notes in this number is one on 'A New Disclosure from Sinai' by Dr. Powis Smith.

Harvard Theological Review.—The January number consists entirely of a critical account of 'Literature on the New Testament, 1921-24.' The survey extends only to Germany, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries. Professor Windisch, of Leyden, has been assisted by Dr. Fridrichsen of Oslo, and the result of their collaboration is of great value to New Testament students. In a

work entitled *Jesu-Jeschua*, Dalman, the author of *Die Worte Jesu* maintains that 'besides Aramaic, Jesus could speak Greek, since he talked with Pilate without an interpreter; and he could read and speak Hebrew.' The first volume of Th. Zahn's *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* is described as 'the most important work on the Apocalypse that has appeared,' and the hope is expressed that 'the venerable Nestor of New Testament learning may be permitted to complete his exposition.' Feine has supplemented his well-known work on *New Testament Theology*, now in its fourth edition, by a book on *The Religion of the New Testament*, 'with a more synthetic presentation. He emphasizes once more the unity of the New Testament doctrine, especially in his detailed discussion of the problem of "Jesus and Paul," and uses the Johannine material in describing the religion of Jesus.'—Professor Goguel, of the Faculté de Théologie Protestante, Paris, contributes to the April number an informing article on 'Recent French Discussion of the Historical Existence of Jesus Christ.' This controversy has recently been revived in France, 'after abating in Germany, England, and America.' Paul Louis Couchoud—physician, man of letters, philosopher, disciple, and friend of Anatole France—has formulated afresh the hypothesis of non-existence. Goguel reaffirms his own view, as stated in his book, that 'after a close study of all the texts, keeping strictly to the domain of history, he has reached the conclusion that, without the historical reality of the person of Jesus, the origin and development of Christianity would remain an enigma, or more properly a miracle.' Charles Guignebert, in his *Le Problem de Jesus*, gives a 'severe and reasoned condemnation of the theories of non-existence.' Of Couchoud he says: 'If he were not so gifted and so eloquent, his thesis would appear plainly in its real character, a rather antiquated paradox, founded on subjective considerations, supported by a species of gnosis, and superficially rejuvenated by skilful presentation and substantial erudition.' Dr. E. F. Scott writes on 'The New Criticism of the Gospels,' with special reference to recent books by Dr. Streeter and Dr. Bacon. To Dr. Streeter's theory that 'Luke used as his framework, not Mark, but another document longer than Mark,' the chief objection is that 'it requires us to desert the known for the unknown. . . . There are fair grounds for arguing that Mark was Luke's primary source.' The chief weakness of Dr. Bacon's account of the Apostolic Message is that 'he associates it too much with theological subtleties—distinguishing in the primitive Church a number of sharply defined parties, each with its own Christology and its reasoned view of the Christian salvation.'

Methodist Review (New York) (March—April).—This number is full of good things. A charming article on Karl Marti is contributed by his friend, the well-known Oriental scholar, Professor J. W. Rogers. The personal note of the article is very interesting and effective. Dr. J. M. Campbell writes on 'The Next Great Revival'—one of the best descriptions we have seen of the chief religious

needs of to-day. Dr. Lynn H. Hough, remembered in this country as a recent Fernley Lecturer, reproduces an inspiring address to theological students on 'Creative Preaching.' Readers who prefer abstract thinking will find pabulum in 'Immortality in the Thought of Hegel,' by A. R. King, and 'A Platform on Immortality,' by C. Kudsen, two papers full of vigour and insight. Another thoughtful article is on 'Freedom Authority,' written by Dr. R. J. Cooke, formerly bishop in the M. E. Church. Abundant additional reading is provided in articles under the headings 'The Arena,' and 'Notes and Discussions.' One of the best is entitled 'The Right of Modernism to criticize the Bible.' The whole number is valuable and educative.

Methodist Quarterly Review (Nashville) (January).—This organ of the M. E. Church South is now edited by Dr. Gilbert T. Rowe, who has gathered round him many able contributors. The number before us contains seven leading articles, such as 'Brazil's New Day,' by Bishop Hobbs, 'Our Attitude towards the Roman Catholic Church,' by A. M. Serex, 'The Negro : our Duty and Relation to Him,' by J. A. Harmon, and 'The Angel before God's Face,' by A. D. Belton. These are followed by some thirty closely-printed pages headed 'The Department of Exegesis,' which contains useful expository material. Under the title 'Editorial Departments,' we find an article from the editor on 'The Second Coming of Christ,' and an account of all the contributors to the current number of the Review. Notices of Books follow, and the section called 'The Forum' contains a number of short papers, including two entitled 'In Quest of the Real Jesus,' and 'The Mission of Methodism.' The extensive programme thus indicated is well sustained and carried out ; we congratulate the editor on the result of his work.

The Princeton Theological Review (January).—The first article on 'The Headings of the Psalms,' by Dr. Wilson, contends that 'there is no reason for concluding that the psalms may not have been written at the times and by the authors mentioned in the headings.' Dr. J. G. Machen, of Princeton, now becoming well known in this country, breaks a friendly lance with Dr. E. G. Mullins of Louisville on 'The Relation of Religion to Science and Philosophy.' Both writers are able 'Fundamentalists,' and both are agreed on the main issues of current theological controversy ; on the subtle points of difference discussed in this paper we do not presume to decide. A second article on 'Is Jesus God ?' by F. D. Jenkins, emphasizes the affirmative answer given to the question in a previous number. The remaining chief article is by Floyd E. Hamilton on 'The Rational Argument for Immortality.' The Reviews of Recent Literature are well and carefully written.

The Canadian Journal of Religious Thought (January—February).—Dr. George Jackson's 'Argument for Immortality' is based on our faith that a righteous God is in control and will see to it that the eternal values such as goodness, truth, beauty, are

preserved. A faith in God that is worth anything at all carries with it, as part of itself, faith in immortality likewise. A. J. Johnson thinks we shall not have 'great' preaching again unless there can be brought back a note of certainty as to the message to be delivered. The preacher must keep steadily in mind his peculiar mission and realize the realm in which he, as no other, has the right to speak with authority.—(March—April).—Dr. Roberts in 'The Preacher as Interpreter' says 'it is beyond question that the Bible is rapidly becoming an unknown book—to which we do, indeed, still pay lip-service, but which the average man leaves unread.' This is a great danger, for 'a Christianity which endeavours to maintain itself without a systematic and peculiar knowledge of the Bible is uprooting itself from its natural soil.' Dr. Roberts regards the distinction drawn between the Christianity of Jesus and that of the apostolic writings as fallacious and disastrous.

Christian Union Quarterly (April).—The editor wonders why the Southern States of America move less rapidly towards union than those of the North. A Southern Baptist recently affirmed that there was no sentiment among his people for unity, not even any particular desire for unity with Northern Baptists. There is some feeling for unity among Southern Presbyterians, but 'some of the bishops in the Southern Methodist Church are uncompromising in their attitude toward unity of the two branches of Methodism.' Professor McComb thinks the preaching of this day must be dominated by great constructive ideas; rich in suggestion; recover the note of triumphant gladness; be democratic in its sympathies and outlook; and recover the lost ideal of perfection in matter and in form.

The Baptist Review and Expositor (January) gives Dr. Soutar's second Norton Lecture on *Augustine's Principal Literary Works*, and two interesting articles on Baptist principles from Constantine down to 1689, when 107 congregations in England and Wales united in adopting a Baptist Confession of Faith.

FOREIGN

Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques.—The first thirty-four pages of the January number are devoted to a verbatim report of the remarkable paper read by E. B. Allo, O.P., at the Conference on Religious Ethnology recently held at Milan, entitled 'Les Dieux Sauvages du Paganisme Greco-Romain.' There is also a valuable Bulletin de Théologie biblique.

Analecta Bolandiana (xlv., 1 and 2).—Père Delehaye gives a catalogue of the Greek hagiographical codices in the library of the Theological School in the island of Chalies which fills fifty-nine pages. The library contains 148 manuscript volumes, and 177 codices, and the catalogue was made possible by personal investigation undertaken in 1914. The editor also has an article on 'The historic personality of St. Paul of Thebes.' His life was written by St. Jerome who regarded him as the first hermit.

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